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SOUTH INDIAN BRONZES

A Historical Survey of
South Indian Sculpture with Iconographical Notes
based on Original Sources

BY

O. C. GANGOLY

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WITH AN

INTRODUCTORY NOTE

BY

J. G. WOODROFFE

95 full-page illustrations and 45 smaller plates in the text

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TO

MY FRIEND AND BROTHER

Obhoy Charan Mookerjee

Who by teaching me to understand the Art of
Foreign Countries indirectly assisted
me to appreciate that of
my own.

PREFACE.

It was during a hasty pilgrimage in October 1909 to the great Hindu shrines of the various Cathedral cities of the South that the project of the present publication was first formulated. The discovery of an old Sanskrit text of the *silpasastras* specially dealing with South Indian images in the possession of a hereditary craftsman in Swami Melai (Tanjore District) afforded excellent materials for the study of this school of bronzes which has contributed such interesting figures to the sculpture galleries in every corridor of all the important temples in the South. The discovery of the text, however, entailing, as it did, a hard and strenuous task of interpreting difficult and mutilated technical terms necessarily delayed the preparation of this work. The delay had its advantage in the time that it afforded in collecting photographs of an adequate number of examples so as to interpret and illustrate the leading characteristics of this interesting branch of Indian sculpture.

My ignorance of the Tamil language has disqualified me from obtaining first-hand informations on many details relating to the history of the subject. Indeed my lack of information on many important points and vital aspects of the subject has undoubtedly maimed and impaired the utility of this essay. The task which my vain efforts have failed to accomplish should have been reserved for better and competent hands. Unfortunately the modern educated South Indian to whom one looks forward to a complete and scholarly survey of the artistic treasures of their country still continues to cultivate a philistine indifference to the masterpieces of their ancestors.

A large proportion of the photographs reproduced in this volume was taken by or for me expressly for this work. To Dr. Henderson of the Government Museum, Madras, I owe a deep debt for permission to obtain photographs of some of the best specimens in that collection. To the officers of the Archæological Department, Southern circle, and principally to Mr. Longhurst and Mr. H. Krishna Sastri, my obligation for similar help is equally great. I am also very grateful for the help I have received in obtaining photographs from Dr. Coomaraswamy; Dr. Kern, the Director of the Musée Guimet, Paris; and from Messrs. Skeen & Co., Colombo. To His Excellency Lord Carmichael I am indebted for similar assistance. It is a pleasure to have to record my acknowledgments for the numerous assistance I have received from my friend and *precepteur* Mr. Abanindra Nath Tagore, C.I.E., but for whose encouraging incitements this work could have never been published.

To Mr. A. Govindacharya, M.R.A.S., of Bangalore, I owe many references to Sanskrit texts and valuable suggestions. I have also to thank my esteemed friend Mr. G. Thathachari, Sub-Registrar, Koilpati, for many valuable informations. I must also thank Mr. Sukumar Ray of Messrs. U. Ray & Sons, Calcutta, who has taken special care in preparing the duotype plates in this volume.

O. C. G.

12-1, *Gangoly's Lane,*
Calcutta.
15*th July*, 1914.

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INTRODUCTION.

The interest which has been recently evinced in the study of Indian Art in its æsthetic aspects has led to a closer enquiry and researches into the various indigenous Schools of Artists which have flourished from time to time in the Indian Continent—researches which have resulted in the discovery of clearly differentiated groups or Schools of Sculpture each characterized by qualities which represent æsthetic experiences of a novel character and yet related to one another by that idealism of form and conception which undoubtedly constitutes India's contribution to the Art of the world.

Specimens of old Indian sculpture have survived in ancient temples and shrines in a bewildering variety which still await systematic study.

The author who is the Honorary Secretary of our Society has himself previously touched upon the subject of "Dravidian Sculpture" (*Modern Review*, January 1912) and "South Indian Portrait-sculpture (*Ibid*, January 1915). He now follows it up with the present work in which he has collected materials for the study of South Indian Bronzes and has made for the first time a survey of this branch of the wide-spreading Indian æsthetic field. His study of Shaivite sculpture is based on original sources, namely three Sanskrit manuscripts dealing with the Sculptors' canons—*Kasyapiya*, *Agastiya*, and *Bramhiya* which are still unpublished and have not been utilised by any previous writer.

According to the plan which the author has followed in dealing with the subject-matter he has refrained from

commenting on the merits of individual work, but has rather attempted to understand the conditions and the atmosphere in which these works have been produced. In the descriptive notes to the plates are appended for each *icon* the texts from the sculptor's handbooks which are authorities for the identification of the subject-matter of each conception. The texts have thus afforded invaluable materials for the study of South Indian iconography which is, as yet, an uninvestigated field. For, after Ziegenbalg (*Genealogy of the South Indian Gods*, Madras, 1869) no serious attempt has been made to survey or study the South Indian Pantheon. The Government of Madras has instructed the Assistant Superintendent for Epigraphy to prepare a hand-book on the "Iconography of Southern India." This publication will no doubt fulfil a long-felt want. In the *Annales du Musee Guimet, Archeologie du Sud de l'Inde, Iconographie, tome* II has recently been published. Mr. T. Gopinath Rao of Travancore is also publishing a treatise on the same subject. In the examples dealt with in the present volume are included the splendid masterpieces discovered in Polonnaruwa, Ceylon. The author is of opinion that these interesting figures must be regarded as essentially South Indian in their conception and origin and can hardly be classed with the works of Sinhalese craftsmen. On the other hand, he has excluded the pre-historic bronzes discovered at Tinnevelly as in their character and origin, they are, according to his view, unrelated to the great School of Shaivite Sculpture, to which "South Indian Bronzes" as now understood specially relate, and therefore do not come within the scope of the present monograph.

It has been the fashion amongst European art-critics to decry the merits of Brahmanical Sculpture on the ground of the alleged monstrosities of the Hindu *pauranic* conceptions, which, it has been said, are incapable of artistic treatment. The examples collected in this volume will, it is hoped, help to dispel such misconceptions and to

refute the unjust criticisms which they have engendered, and will further a juster appreciation of the fact that Indian Sculpture is not a freak of Asiatic barbarism, but is a worthy representative of a school of æsthetic performance as logical, articulate and highly developed as those of any country in Europe, ancient or modern.

Notwithstanding the rising interest in Indian Art to which I have referred this field of labour is still calling for workers. The subject is one in which the co-operation of both Indian and European students is necessary. As Mr. Gangoly, however, complains, too many of his countrymen still display an indifference to the magnificent achievements of their ancestors. The greater then will be the welcome which will be extended to an original work such as this the execution of which has been prompted by a genuine love and true appreciation of the art of this country and which has been carried out with such knowledge and sympathy.

JOHN G. WOODROFFE.

CALCUTTA,
24th January, 1915.

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SOUTH INDIAN BRONZES.

CHAPTER I.

North Indian and South Indian Art.

THE art practices of the North of India offer some points of dissimilarity from those that have governed the art productions of Southern India. 'That the Southern art is different from the North'[1] is apparent in the two systems of architecture and in the treatment of sculpture, which have prevailed in the North and the South.

The Dravidian people who have been in possession of the Deccan for centuries previous to the Christian era are supposed to be the representatives of the Pre-Aryan races who were in possession of the tract south of the Vindhya mountains before the Aryan migration and probably belonged to the Turanian group who occupied Southern and Eastern Persia in ancient times, and who either by sea or by land passed to the Western shores of India.[2] Whatever may be the origin of the Dravidian races it is beyond doubt that the two divisions of the country indicated by the Vindhya ranges were occupied by people essentially different in blood and temperament. This is also evidenced by the language and physical peculiarities of the two races and the literature and the character of their religious worship. Yet the civilization that we meet with in South India to-day is essentially Aryan in its general features and there is no record whatsoever, except now and then in minor social practices, mythological details and the non-Sanskrit Tamil literature, of the civilization which existed there before South India was Aryanised. The Tamil kingdoms of Chera, Chola and Pandya which existed as early as 1000 B.C. had attained a considerable degree of civilization

[1] Bhandarkar "*Early History of Deccan.*"

[2] Mr. S. S. Bharathi, M.A., B.L., in a learned thesis entitled "Tamil Classics and Tamilagam" (Siddhanta Dipika, July 1913) has considered an 'indigenous' theory regarding the origins of the Tamils.

independent of Aryan influences, and the genius of this Dravidian civilization and its literature was utterly distinct from that of Sanskrit. The Dravidian tribes were gradually brought to know and accept the Aryan civilization, (chiefly by the influence of Brahmin pilgrims or adventurers who travelled southward), and to adopt their religion, polity and arts. The first Aryan missionary to the South was the great sage Agastya whose advent to the South has added a new chapter to the history of Dravidian civilization, the customs, beliefs and institutions of which were either recast or adapted gradually on the model of the Aryans. "In the centuries of either side of 750 B.C. the Aryans began to penetrate into the *mahā kāntāra* (the great forests) round about the Vindhyās, the memory of which is preserved in the tradition regarding Agastya's advent into the South. The forest is supposed to have extended up to Pampa Sarobar near modern Hampe. The advent of Agastya introduces reclamation of the jungles into arable land. Agastya is also the reputed author of the first Tamil Grammar. Whoever this Agastya was, *Rishi* or some one else by that name, he does for Tamil what Panini did for Sanskrit."[1]

Age of Agastya.

It will be necessary to consider the exact influence which Agastya wielded over the Dravidian civilization of the south, as the south of India is very often referred to in various local works as "the land lit up by the glory of Agastya." Agastya himself is called, by way of eminence, the *Tamil Muni* or Tamilian Sage.

The age of Agastya was in reality a new era in the history of Tamil literature and art. Before his time there was in the Tamil countries an alphabetic system and literature, but "he was the first probably to introduce a grammatical system founded on a Sanskrit prototype." At any rate it was during his sojourn to South India, that Sanskrit influence first began to be felt. "Northern religious and social institutions were introduced and the Brahmanical priesthood, and in its train the Buddhists, the Nigranthas and the Ajiwakas and other religious sects began to pour upon the South. It was then that literature exclusively Dravidian was replaced by Northern traditions and legends. The national literature was slowly modified, its legends transformed, its heroes amalgamated with, or lost in the personality of, those of the North, and its gods absorbed

[1] *Ancient India* by S. Krishna Swami Aiyanger, M.A., 1911, pages 5, 8 and 30.

with a change of name into the Aryan Pantheon." Thus the primitive *Murugga* was afterwards amalgamated and identified with Skanda ; the temples of Pidâri and Ayyanār were only the forerunners of those of Siva and Pārvati. Saivaism under the form of the worship of Siva or Skanda, seems to have been originally the religion of the primitive tribes of South India long before the arrival of the Aryans. This process of gradual change and assimilation was *a fait accompli* before the second century A.D., for in Ptolemy and the Periplus of the Red Sea the most southern point of India is known by its Sanskrit name of Kumari."[1]

A recent writer on other grounds has come to the conclusion "that the complete Aryanisation of the South must have taken place after the 6th century and before the 3rd century B.C."[2]

It is impossible in the present state of South Indian Archæology to suggest the date of Agastya with any degree of accuracy. Mr. Raja has suggested that "Aryan influences had partly penetrated into Southern India before the time of Buddha, and that the age of Agastya was anterior to that of Buddha. When Agastya composed his Grammar in Tamil, he and after him his successors incorporated into their treatises a chapter on *Porul* which formed the subject-matter of the literature of the poets and bards that preceded him. But as the state of the society portrayed in *Porul* describes the manners and customs of a people who had lived at a period anterior to the formation of the Pandyan kingdom itself, I think there is no impropriety in my dating it as early as 1000 B.C."[3]

Some scholars[4] have looked upon Agastya as a mythical personage and regard the legend of Agastya's settlement in the South as historically worthless. Evidences are sufficient however which show that he actually lived in the South about the time of Rāmā's journey to the South. Rāmā himself visited his hermitage as also that of his brothers, which was *2 jojanas* from Panchabati (*vide* Rāmāyana, Aranya Kānda, 11, 37). In Tanjore taluk, five miles north of Point Calimere, there is a small village called

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[1] "Glimpses of Ancient Dravidians" by E. S. W. Senathi Raja, LL.B., in the *Tamilian Antiquary* No. 5, 1909, page 8. *The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* by W. H. Scoff, 1912, page 46.

[2] "Brahman Immigration into Southern India" by A. Govindacharya Swami in the *Indian Antiquary*, October 1912, page 231, and July 1913, page 194.

[3] *The Tamilian Antiquary*, No. 5, page 20.

[4] Burnell, *South Indian Palæography*, page 47.

Agastya palli adjoining Vedaranniyam, 'the forest of the Vedas'[1]. This village is remarkable as possessing a temple dedicated to the sage Agastya. A grant of a *Bramha-deya* land given in the 16th year of the reign of king Parantaka, a Pandyan king (Birnarayan) begins with an account of the Pandya family which he describes " as praised personally by *Rishis* like Varadwaj and had the sage Agastya for its priest "[2]. There is also a legendary account of Ugra Pandya son of Thathathakei having gone accompanied by a Chola and a Chera prince to seek assistance from the sage Agastya. Mr. V. Kanakasabhai Pillai in his work alludes to the existence in the second century A.D. of a practice of the Brahmans of Southern India to circumbulate the Pothiya hill, a peak of the Tinnevelly ghats which was famous as the residence of the Vedic Sage Agastya[3]; and he is still thought of as living there. Of his literary works, *Smriti Chandrikā*, *Agastya Sanhitā* and *Agastya Gitā* are well known. The work on *Silpasastra* attributed to him is perhaps the least known of his works. The *Āgastiya Sakalādhikāra* has a special signification with reference to the art of South India, as suggesting the development of Dravidian art under Aryan influence. He seems to be the first author to systematise the practice of image-making in South India and the rules of proportions laid down in his work are practically the same as elaborated in the later works on South Indian sculpture, such as the *Kāsyapiya*, *Sāraswatiya*, *Anghsumānaveda-Kalpa*, etc., and are still followed by modern South Indian *Sthapathis* (sculptors). Agastya's æsthetic leanings are very well indicated in the legendary account of the creation of his wife Lopa Mudrā, whose beauteous form he deduced and evolved from the many beauteous objects of nature, his wife being so named, as her beauty had vanquished or 'caused to disappear' (Sans. *Lopa*) all the other beauties of her time. Agastya's work *Sakalādhikāra* (Lit., the authority or proficiency in image-making)[4] exists in only one manuscript in the Tanjore Palace Estate Library being incorporated in the collection of leaves tabulated as *Silpakalādipikā*

Works attributed to Agastya.

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[1] *Tanjore District Gazetteer*, page 284.

[2] *Madras Govt. Epigraphist's Report*, 1906-1907, page 164.

[3] *Tamils 1800 years ago*, 1904, page 21.

[4] Ram Raja in referring to this MSS. mistranslates the title as 'the universal authority.' According to the autobiography given in the Tamil work, " Agastya Jnyana " now in the Government Oriental Library, Madras, the sage was directed by Siva to compose various *Sastras* and he accordingly wrote 100,000 stanzas on Rasāyana (Alchemy), 200,000 on Medicine and 100,000 on divine wisdom. A list of 32 works is also ascribed to Agastya, one of which is Pujā vidhi (Rules of Worship) of 200 verses. Probably *Sakalādhikāra* formed portion of this work.

by Bendall in his catalogue. Except in the colophons there is nothing in the body of the eleven chapters of *Sakalādhikara* which indicates the authorship of the work. The matters dealt with in the book are as follows :—

Chapter I.—*Mānsangraha* (measurements).
Chapter II.—*Uttamdastāla.*
Chapter III.—*Madhyamdastāla.*
Chapter IV.—*Adhamadastāla.*
Chapter V.—*Pratimālakhana* (Image-making).
Chapter VI.—*Brisava Bāhan lakhana*
Chapter VII.—*Nateswarabidhi.*
Chapter VIII.—*Sodasa pratimālakhana* (the sixteen forms of images).
Chapter IX.—*Dāru-Sangraha* (the collection of wood).
Chapter X.—*Mritsanskāra* (the preparation of the clay).
Chapter XI.—*Barnasanskāra* (the preparation of colour).

The manuscript itself is in very corrupt form, full of mistakes and gaps, but there is no doubt that it contains matters which represent the art practices of South Indian sculptors at or about the time when Agastya introduced the system of Aryan sculptors into South India. The descriptions or *lakhanas* of the sixteen forms of Siva given in this work as a sort of a guide to future artists show that Saivaism had already taken a definite shape with its rich and varied iconography which has suggested so many splendid subjects to the South Indian artists.

Although the later development of South Indian art has drawn its inspiration from the Vaishnava philosophy and faith, at its inception, South Indian art as developed under the Aryan influence was entirely Saivaite in its character and inspiration. Many of the images of the Saivaite gods illustrated in this volume had assumed individual types at the time of Agastya, but the actual examples here reproduced mostly represent the artistic activity of the later Saiva revival during the Chola ascendancy, *viz.*, 984 to 1243 A.D.

This great sage is specially associated with the princes of the Pandya kingdoms in the South, he being stated to have officiated both as minister and spiritual teacher to the founder of the Pandya principality, and the date of the earlier Pandya kings ought to suggest the approximate time when Agastya lived and composed his works. Ram

Raja in his *Essay on the Architecture of the Hindus* says: " It (Sakalādhikāra) is generally believed to have been composed by Agastya under the auspices of the founder of the Pandya government, a circumstance which, if admitted, would give to this work a very high antiquity. It is, however, difficult to trace the exact period when the Pandya principality was originally established. Mr. Wilson in his prefatory remarks to his catalogue of the *Mackenzie Collection* places this event three or four centuries before the Christian era, although in another place he fixed the date of the civilization of the South of India ten centuries before Christ. As the Mahabharata which is believed to have been composed by Vyasa in the beginning of the *Kaliyug* makes mention of the Pandya and Chola governments, we must give them credit for a higher antiquity. " Recent writers have assigned the eighth century B.C., as the probable date of Agastya's immigration to the South[1].

The fact that there are no references in Agastya's work to Jain or Buddhist images or to the canonized Saivaite saints, *e.g.*, Sundarar, Appar, Manikkavacagar and others who lived in times later than the 2nd century A.D., seems to suggest that his work must have been composed in the pre-Buddhistic periods probably before the 4th century B.C.

Kasyapat. The next name in the art-history of South India is that of the sage Kasyapa celebrated in the *purānās* and the other sacred writings of great antiquity. He was probably the successor to Agastya in his mission of the aryanisation of the Dravidian countries, and was perhaps the same person as the father of Kanāda the great Hindu philosopher and founder of the Vaisesika system. He is one of the seven Rishis who are said to have survived the great deluge and to have peopled the earth after that great event. Kasyapa is very well known in South India as the reputed author of the most elaborate handbook dealing with South Indian sculpture which is known as the *Kāsyapiya*.. (Lit. ' appertaining to or written by Kasyapa '). This work has attained universal authority amongst all the sculptors of South India up to the present time and the young pupils are even now taught to learn by heart the verses given in this book regarding the rules of construction and measurements of images. The available manuscripts of this work are far more clear and accurate than those of the other works on *silpasāstra*. His original work comprised also matters relating to architecture and the cognate subjects.

[1] Messrs. Bhandarkar and Krishna Swami Aiyangar.

But the portion of his work generally known as *Anghsumān Veda Kalpa* is more widely known and followed and deals exclusively with sculpture. At any rate, of all the existing manuscripts the *Kāsyapiya* deals very exhaustively with image-making and affords the most invaluable guide to the study of South Indian sculpture. The manuscript which has been utilised in the present work is from the Government Oriental Library, Madras, and is practically the same as *Angshumān Veda Kalpa* in the collection of the Tanjore-Palace Estate Library. Both the Madras and Tanjore manuscripts are incomplete. It does not appear to be a recension of the same manuscript referred to by Ram Raja in his *Essay*. 7

Next to Kasyapa we come across the name of Maya as associated with South Indian art. He has also more or less a mythical halo about him, but there are various works on art attributed to him which chiefly deal with architecture. There is no doubt, however, that he established a new system of temple-construction of his own which was probably the origin of the Dravidian School of architecture. His principal work is known as *Mayamata* or principles or opinion of Maya. The existing manuscripts attributed to him and the legendary account of his life which we glean from the Rāmāyana leaves no doubt that his activities were confined to the South and the works supposed to be written by him are specially associated with South Indian art. The works attributed to him are now known and referred to under the following names :—(*a*) *Mayamata* or *Mayamata Bāstu Sāstra*; (*b*) *Maya Silpa*;[1] (*c*) *Maya silpa satikā* (*d*) *Silpa sāstra Bidhānam*. Of these the last work which is in five chapters is supposed to be a portion of the original *Mayamata* and deals exclusively with construction of images. The other works chiefly deal with the architecture of temples, etc. In the *purānas*, Maya, sometimes also called Maya Dānaba, is described as the son of Diti, the mother of the *Daityas* or Demons, the other sister, Aditi being the mother of the gods; and Maya is reputed to be the architect and craftsman of the *Daityas*, just as Visva-Karmā was the architect of the gods. Ram Raja considers that he is the same person as the author or the compiler of the Surya Siddhanta. Of his many artistic exploits the Mahabharata mentions a splendid palace erected by him for the residence of the five sons of Pandu, a poetical description of which occupies a whole chapter of that great epic. In the Maya.

[1] Portions of this work have been translated by Rev. J. F. Kearns in the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. V, Page 230.

Rāmāyana he is also described as having built a palace of art for himself to beguile the tedium of the absence of his wife Homa. His daughter Mandodari was married by him to Ravāna. In the *Kathā Saritsāgar* he is described as an *Asura* or a non-Aryan who subsequently became a convert to Aryan civilization; by so doing he incurred the displeasure of his former clan and to protect himself from the onslaughts of the latter he built for himself an invulnerable castle in the Vindhya hills[1]. It is very difficult to ascertain with any degree of accuracy the time when Maya lived or the date of the works attributed to him. Having regard to the nature of their contents they seem to be later than the works attributed to Agastya. Maya's source of knowledge of the *silpasāstras*, the science of the arts, is stated in a legendary account given in the Rāmāyana (Kiskindya kanda, 51 Sarga) to have been derived from Sukrāchārya through the grace of Bramhā. At any rate he was a later exponent of the arts than his Aryan predecessors Agastya and Kasyapa.

Nagnajit.

The next exponent of South Indian art that we meet with has at least some historical association. This is Nagnajit, the author of some works on *silpasāstra*. He is quoted in *Brihat Sanhitā* in the chapter dealing with *Pratimā Lakhana* (*vide* Chapter 58, sloka 4, *Brihat Sanhitā*, edited by H. Kern, 1865, *Bibliotheca Indica*). None of his works appear to have survived. But from the above quotation in the *Brihat Sanhitā* it appears that he was in some way associated with the Drāvida, that is to say, the South Indian system of image-making, and gives the length of the face as practised in the South as 14 *angulas* as opposed to 12 angulas current in other parts of India[2]. Some have supposed that he was the author of works on architecture but the reference in the chapter of *Brihat Sanhitā* where he is twice quoted seems to suggest that he was an authority on image-making[3]. His works must have survived up to the time when *Brihat Sanhitā* was compiled. He must have lived therefore some time before 404 A.D., the date assigned to Barāha Mihira. *As an authority on painting and image-making* Nagnajit is also mentioned in *Chitralaksana* one of the Essays embodied in the great Tibetan canonical work,

[1] In the *Kathā Saritsāgar* we also find that he was well versed in the mechanical sciences of which he seems to have been the pioneer inventor.

[2] It must be pointed out, however, that according to the existing canons the length of the face in the longest measure current in South Indian manuscripts, *viz.*, the *Uttam das tāla*, does not exceed 13½ angulas.

[3] Dr. H. Kern after quoting a commentator on *Brihat Sanhitā* suggests that "Nagnajit is the reputed author of a work on the art of painting" (*Vide* Journal Royal Asiatic Society, 1873, New series, Volume VI, page 59).

the Tanjur. He seems to have personified a school of art connected with the cult of Siva[1]. In the *Matsyapurāna* (ch. 252, sloka 2), Nagnajit is named as one of the eighteen authorities who expounded the principles of architecture. Nagnajit is no more than a mere name in South Indian art. And although he may be supposed to have lived in periods later than Agastya, Kasyapa or Maya there is no system or artistic tradition specially attributed to him and none of the living hereditary artists of South India from whom enquiries were made can offer any information regarding his contributions to South Indian art.

Jaya, Parajaya, and Bijaya.

The most authentic informations regarding the South Indian Schools are those referred to in Tārānath's interesting sketch of Indian art-history which is supposed to have been written in 1608 A.D. "Wherever Buddhism prevailed", says Tārānath, " Skilful religious artists were found, while wherever the Mlechchas (Muhammadans) ruled they disappeared. Where again the Tirthya doctrines (Orthodox Hinduism) prevailed, unskilful artists came to the front. Although in Pakam (Burma) and the Southern countries the making of images is still going on, no specimen of their works appear to have reached Tibet. In the South three artists have had many followers: Jaya, Parajaya, and Bijaya." Tārānath does not give any estimate whatsoever of the character of the artistic performances in the South nor is there any indication as to whether the three artists named were his contemporaries. But considering that their reputations as leaders of the Schools of image-making in the South reached Tibet about 1600 A.D., it is possible that these South Indian masters lived about a century or two before, say, about the 13th century. This assigns them to the period of Saivaite figure sculpture which flourished under the lavish patronage of the Chola kings from the tenth to the thirteenth century. I have been unable to discover any actual examples of sculpture which could be attributed to Jaya, Parajaya, or Bijaya, but close enquiries and research among the innumerable old bronze figures in the South Indian temples might lead to the identification of works of any of these artists. Many of the older examples illustrated in this volume probably represent the styles which these very artists might have founded. Some of the oldest living *Sthapathis* in Tanjore and Kumbakonam still remember the names of these artists but they are unable to identify any actual specimens of their works.

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1 *Ostasiatische Zeitschrift*, Berlin, January-March 1914, page 483.

Brahman immigration to the South.

When Agastya led the first Brahman immigration to the Drāvida countries he did not do so merely as a missionary or advocate of Aryan art. His object was to introduce into South India and to transport bodily the Aryan system of thoughts and culture in all its branches and to envelope and overlap the Dravidian civilization which had already attained a high degree of development quite independent of Aryan influence. The shrines and places of pilgrimages were localised and sanctified following their prototypes in the North ; the rivers Godavery and Kauvery were clothed with the same spiritual efficacies as the Ganges and the other sacred rivers in Upper India. The existing popular lore and the religious ideas of the Dravidian races were adapted and woven into a new body of *paurānic* literature with special local associations ; and, lastly, the primitive Dravidian gods which had then become subjects of worship were adopted and admitted into the new pantheon clothed in an Aryan dress and changed under a new name. In this way many of the female deities formerly associated with the earlier forms of worship were accepted as consorts or *sakti* of the various Aryan Gods. So we find that in many of the Southern temples the original deities are associated with a consort who has no counterpart in the North Aryan pantheon. Thus *Kārtikeya* or *Subramannya* has two wives, one of whom is the original *Deb jāni* and the other is the *Balliramayee* who is never mentioned in the northern *purānas*. So the names of *Minākshi* and *Siva-Kāma-Sundary* as consorts of Siva are never heard of in North India. Those that could not be accepted as in any way related to, or associated with, the North Aryan deities were tolerated as *grāma devatās* or village deities and have been all along venerated and worshipped under their old Tamil names side by side with the orthodox image-worship prevailing in the main temples. In this process of adoption and amalgamation the question of preserving and perpetuating the identity and integrity of the Aryan deities in their new association and strange environment was of supreme importance to the Aryan iconographer. One may well understand the necessity of securing the permanence of the forms and conceptions of the deities which have been done possibly by Agastya and his followers in the various *dhyāna mantras* or contemplative verses descriptive of the images, and these *dhyānas* have become indispensable chapters in all the handbooks for image-making current in South India. The canons and rules given as to the construction of images are considered as a sort of commentary giving

the *lakhana* or precipe as to how the deities conceived in the contemplative verse are to be translated and ' bodied forth ' in the shape of images, the object of the canons being to prevent a degeneration in form and type of the original conceptions of these deities in the hands of Dravidian artists, brought up, as they were, in a system of thought alien and in some sense antagonistic to those introduced by Agastya and his followers. It is impossible to say if the system and the canons of image-making which Agastya introduced in South India were identical with those prevailing in North India at the time. It is quite possible that various modifications and adaptations had to be made in the canons of the *silpasastras* to suit local conditions and types. But from most of the examples which we to-day meet with in the South, we find that in their general technique and convention they recall the best traditions of the North Indian style which seems to have been adopted in South Indian images in connection with the most important temples and shrines. There is no doubt, however, that all that represented the best in the religious art of North India was introduced in South India by Agastya and his followers and has become imbedded in and has remained as part of the art practices of the South.

I have elsewhere considered a School of South Indian sculpture which seems to strike a note alien to the artistic traditions of North India and which I have provisionally called Dravidian as distinguished from the other Schools of South Indian sculpture[1]. Dr. Coomaraswamy has referred to this peculiarity as " the demoniac element which sometimes appears in South Indian art." The examples with which we are concerned here disclose an unique chapter in Indian art which the Dravidian genius has contributed mostly under the influence of Saivaism. They represent the continuation and a later stylistic development of the earlier schools to which we owe the masterpieces at Ellora and at Māmallapuram[2]. In later times another stream of colonists flowed into South India which gave rise to a revival of Brahmanism which had established itself in pre-historic times under the leadership of Agastya and others. This later movement was principally a Vaishnavite emigration. " Early in the eighth century the Bhāgabata Sampradāyins, worshippers of Krishna, migrated to the South and peopled the Telugu, Kannada and Tamil King-

[1] Dravidian Sculpture, in *The Modern Review*, 1912.

[2] The other forms of the name of this place is Mavalivaram and Mahavallipuram.

doms. In the ninth and tenth centuries their number increased when the Mahomedan incursions became frequent. It was these that brought into the South the renaissance literature of the North, the product of more recent times, made during the times of King Bhoja of Dhara and the Guptas of Ujjain and Pàtaliputra and Harshavardhana of Kanauj. The earlier emigrants had brought but the *Mimansa,* the epics, and the *Sutras.* It is the latter that brought logic, grammar, and *belles-lettres* in general and gave an impetus to learning in the South. The tenth and eleventh centuries formed the Augustan period of Dravidian literature. The chief impetus for this magnificent activity was given by the new-coming Aryan settlers. So much did Raj Raj the powerful Chola King at *Kanchi* recognise the value of these new-comers that he defended them against the attacks of his aunt Kunda Avvai who remonstrated with him for showing favour to the culture of the North in preference to his own Tamil[1]." The influence of these latter colonists furnished the impetus for the literature as well as the art of South India. The last time that the South had turned for inspiration to the North was during the ascendency of the Nayakka princes and latterly of the Maharatta princes of Tanjore who took a great part in South India in the development of the Sanskrit literature. Indeed the voluminous collection of Sanskrit manuscripts on all branches now stored in the Tanjore palace, a portion of which was undoubtedly collected from the northern part of India, was the outcome of their interest in and patronage of the Sanskrit as distinguished from the Tamil culture and civilization.

[1] A. Govindacharya Swamin, "Brahman Immigration into South India," *Indian Antiquary,* July 1913, Volume XLII, page 196.

CHAPTER II.

IT is difficult to ascertain the exact time when Saivaism established itself in India as a definite cult. Siva in his aspect of the Rudra is as old as the Vedas. The Rāmāyana and the Māhābharāta suggest a period when Saivaism had taken a definite shape. Passages in the *Lalita Vistara* and other Buddhist works distinctly show that Saiva worship existed in India before the advent of Buddhism; Dr. Barnouf has stated that it existed as early as 600 B.C. In the time of Patanjali, about the second century B.C., images (*pratikriti*) of Siva, Skanda, and Visakha, made sometimes of precious metals, were kept for common worship by certain persons referred to as the Mayuryas who practised image-making as a profession[1]. "The fact that the Mayuryas thought of making money out of the trade in images shows that the demand was considerable[2]". In the invocation to *Siva* in *Mrichchatika* we find that the 'blue-throated' God had begun to be worshipped about the first century A.D., the date attributed to Sudraka. It is not possible to indicate the time when the Saiva faith was first introduced into South India. Probably it came along with the advent of Brahmanism led by Agastya. The Skanda and Brahmanda Puranas represent the *paurānic* elaboration of South Indian Saivaism and the date of the composition of these Puranas obviously suggests the time of the beginning of Śaiva movement in South India. Of the important group of Saiva shrines, those at Ellora were excavated about 760 A.D., while the rock-cut temples at Māmallapuram, of which three are Saivaite, were excavated during the reign of the Pallava Kings, between the sixth and seventh centuries. The Pallava Prince Sivaskanda Varman who lived in the second century A.D., "was an orthodox Hindu with a special devotion for Siva". Mahendra Varman, I. (600-625 A.D.) and Narshinha Varmana, I. (*Cir.* 625 A.D.) to whom many of the rock-temples are attributed, were also Saivaites. When Hiuen Tsang visited the South in 640 A.D.,

Saivaism and the growth of Saivaite art in South India.

Saivaite Kings.

1 Patanjali's Commentary on Panini, V-3-99.

2 *Note on the use of images in Ancient India*, by Sten Konow in the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XXXVIII, page 145-49.

he found the country was studded with hundreds of Brahmanical temples most of which must have been Saivaite.

The Pandyan Kings are reputed to have favoured Jainism and the conversion of Kubja Pandya, the 'hunch-back,' who was by birth a Jaina, is typical of the conflict which raged about the time between a form of Hinduism and the non-Brahmanical faith before the former supplanted Buddhism and Jainism. It is said that Kubja Pandya after he had espoused the Saivaite faith was "cured alike of his physical deformity and spiritual obliquity and took thenceforth the name of Sundara (beautiful) in contradistinction to his former name of Kubja ("hunch-back"). The Tamil works which recount the events of the reigns of the Pandyan Kings record a legend about a marriage of the granddaughter of Kulasekhara, the founder of Madura, with the god Siva who is said "to have come down in mortal form to wed the Pandyan Princess and perpetuate that line." This seems to point to the conclusion that the earlier Pandya Kings were Saivaite before the advent of Buddhism and Jainism.

The Cholas were all along strict adherents of Siva and their aversion to the religion of Jainism was the source of constant friction with the neighbouring Pandyan princes, and also the Sinhalese who are referred to as "the enemies of Siva". The patronage which the kings of the Chola dynasty extended to the revival of Saivaism from the 10th century onward has lent an impetus to South Indian sculpture which has added an unique chapter to the history of Indian Art.

Overthrow of Buddhism.

It must be remembered that although Saivaism had an earlier history in South India, the period of struggle between Buddhism and Brahmanism (between 500 to 800 A.D.) really represents a general rise of orthodox Hinduism as opposed to a mere Saiva revival. For during this period the adherents of the Vaishnava as well as the Saiva faith have been fighting their battle for mastery against the then prevailing faith of Buddhism and Jainism, and we find constant references to both Pallava and Chola Kings endowing Saivaite as well as Vaishnava shrines which did not assume antagonistic relations until later times under the Cholas. The pioneer of this revival of the orthodox Hindu faith was no doubt the great Saivaite Saint Manikkavacagar who by his life-long struggle against the Buddhists gained the title of "the hammer of the Buddhists". The music of Manikkavacagar's melting lyric—the famous *Tiruvācagam* and the faith and fervour which they expressed have for

centuries continued to thrill with rapturous emotion the teeming millions of the Tamil country. To the Tamils, Manikkavacagar has always been the saint 'whose words are precious rubies.' He was born at Tiruvadavur in the Melur Taluk of Madura, and lived about the sixth century A.D. His famous hymns are still recited in many a Saivaite temple in South India. The story of his spiritual regeneration is well-known. He was the prime minister to a Pandyan King of Madura, and was commissioned by his sovereign to purchase a stud of horses for royal use and it is in that trip that his conversion took place at Tiru-Perum-turai. He was attracted to a grove by the chants of the sacred Saiva Agama where he found his spiritual *guru* who was no other than Siva himself in the guise of a great sage who at once initiated him. He cast off his rich garments and put on the humble covering of the meek ascetic and smeared himself with 'holy ashes' which, as Tiru-jnan Sambandha tells us, symbolize 'deliverance from desire.' The story of his spiritual struggle and triumph is told in the graceful verses of the *Tiruvācagam* one of the cardinal teachings of which is the cult of *Bhakti* the path of love and the direct operation of Divine grace in the redemption of human soul. "The work is a veritable 'Pilgrims' Progress' from the alluring bondage of the flesh to final emancipation from embodiment." The passage describing the final consummation is worth quoting :— Manikka-vacagar.

"Glory I ask not, nor desire I wealth,
Not earth or heaven I crave ;
I seek no birth or death ; those that
Desire not Sivan never more
I touch. I've reached the foot of
Sacred Perum-turai's king
And crowned myself. I go not forth
I know not going hence again."

(XXXIV, 1.)

Describing his teachings Dr. Pope refers to him "as a strange mixture of St. Paul and St. Francis of Assisi." He is said to have visited and exercised some influences with the Nestorian Christians in Travancore who looked upon him as Manes. He settled in later life at Chidambaram where he vanquished in controversy the Buddhists of Ceylon who had come there to overthrow its sacred fame. According to another account he visited Ceylon where this religious controversy was held.

Appar.

The next important names in the history of South Indian Saivaism are St. Appar and St. Tiru-Jnan Sambandha whose joint efforts virtually dealt the deathblow to the ascendency of Jainism and Buddhism in the South. They lived about the seventh century, the first named being older than his associates. St. Appar in his early life had embraced Jainism and assumed the name of Devasena in the Jaina Sangha which he subsequently left and then reverted to his ancestral faith. He was severely persecuted by his former co-religionists and the Jaina King, but he escaped miraculously from all his adventures. "Thereafter he commenced his peregrinations from shrine to shrine meeting devotees everywhere and confirming them in the faith and enacting sundry miracles, but above all uttering things, and leading a life of extreme simplicity and purity which must have won for him more adherents than all his miracles. The hymns which he composed with reference to the various Saiva shrines which he visited and hallowed with his name are collected in the famous poems called *Devārām* (Garland of praises for God). They are undoubtedly the best devotional lyrics of South India which have won for him the reputation as the greatest master of the Tamil poetry of the century. His visit to Chidambaram has added a special spiritual charm to that famous Saivaite shrine the courtyards of which he weeded with his hoe, as he went on circumambulating the temple. He is very often represented with hands joined in prayer with the weeding implement resting on his left arm (*vide* plate LXLI). As to the spiritual value of his compositions these are popularly known and honoured as the "Written Vedas" as opposed to the Srutis or 'unwritten Vedas' which he made accessible to all people without distinction of caste or creed." This is very well indicated in a parable attributed to St. Appar. He visited a temple in Vedaranyam the front gates of the shrines of which were kept closed. The reason assigned by tradition was that God was worshipped there originally by the Vedas themselves, and they had shut the gates after them. St. Appar at the request of St. Tiru-Jnan Sambandha sang out some hymns which unlocked the gates of the mysterious shrine amidst the music of the heavens and the praises of thousands of devotees. Vedâranyam was originally a *vedic* colony where Agastya the head of the Brahmin emigrants had his hermitage. "There is a simple lesson," says Mr. Nallaswami Pillai, "to be gathered from this incident. Owing to the decay of learning and knowledge in course of time and owing to the encroachments

of other religions and influences the Vedas and Upanishads in which all the learning and religion of the Brahmans were stored literally remained locked up" until these Saiva saints opened their portals again.

Tiru-Jnana Sambandha. Tiru-Jnana Sambandha who was the younger contemporary of St. Appar lived about the beginning of the seventh century and was a native of Shiyali (Shrikali) in the Tanjore District. He was the famous child-saint who associated himself with St. Appar in his divine mission and called the latter in the affectionate appellation of 'Father' (Tamil 'Appar'). He is said to have been called to the worship of Siva while still a child and to have died a child. He is often represented in the memorial statues as a nude child holding a pair of cymbals which he received from Siva and with which he went about singing Siva's praise. The story of his initiation is thus narrated: "When he was still a child he went with his father to the Shiyali temple. Becoming hungry he began to cry; whereon the goddess of the shrine took pity on him and gave him a cup of her own milk. His father noticed that he had been drinking milk and asked him where he got it. In reply he broke out into a hymn in praise of the deity which now forms the first of those in the *Devāram*. This incident gave him his name which means 'related through wisdom' to the God-head. Later he vanquished the Jains at Madura, and afterwards he travelled to more than 200 shrines of which the majority are in Tanjore. Each of his hymns which are in lofty language and are considered to be finer as poetic efforts than those of Appar or Sundara Murti, consisted of eleven stanzas of which the last always referred to himself."[1]

Sundara. Sundara or Sundara Murti nayanar, flourished about the eighth century. The story of his illumination and consecration to the service of Siva is briefly as follows:— "Born at Tirunamannallur in the Tirukkoyilur taluk, he was adopted by the King, but brought up as a learned Brahman. When he grew older, a suitable marriage was arranged and in bridal attire, he rode out to the marriage. Then Siva as an aged Brahman came to bar the way and claimed the boy as a family slave. The bond was produced and it was agreed that the marriage must be stopped and the boy must follow the old man as a slave. The boy did so, and he led the way into a Saiva temple where Siva appeared before him and claimed him as his devotee of old

[1] *South Arcot District Gazetteer*, Volume I, 1906, page 97.

and said " My favourite worship is the singing of hymns ; sing Tamil hymns now ". So he sang the first hymn of which the first verse runs thus :—

" O Madman, Wearer of the crescent moon, Lord and gracious One,
How comes it that I ever think on Thee my heart remembering Thee always ?
Thou hast placed the Veenai river on the south !
O father dwelling in the fair city of Veenai Nallur.
Since I am Thy slave, how may I deny it ? "[1]

He is said to have had two spiritual consorts in after-life, Sangili and Paravai both of whom are associated with him in the temple services, though it was one of them who played a prominent part in his spiritual life. He is of a more human character than his predecessors, not disdaining to accept payment for his songs ; hence the saying attributed to Siva " My Appar sang of me ; Sambandhar sang of himself ; but Sundara sang for gold."

The period which followed the advent of the famous poet-saints above-named marked the outburst of Saivaite fervour and fanaticism which found such enthusiastic support under the Chola kings. It has been justly said that modern Saivaism in South India may be said to date from the time of these Saiva saints and is intimately bound up with their memories, glories and deeds of piety. Only those temples that have been hymned by them in their sacred verses (' *pedal petta sthalam* ' as the phrase goes), are now held sacred. Shortly after their death they were canonized and their images were set up in all the important Saivaite temples and divine honours began to be paid to them. In almost every temple special feasts have been associated with them and the greatest feasts in Southern India, the Magiladi feast in Tirivottiyur, the Aruvattumuvar feast in Maylapur, the Arundra feast in Chidambaram and the Avanimulam feast in Madura are all held in their honour. These Saiva *Acharyas*, or *Adiyars* as they are called, in attempting to popularise in the shape of their divine songs the philosophic teachings of the Saiva Agama Siddhanta emphasized personal devotion and service in preference to rituals and formulas and " have lent a catholicity to the Saiva form of worship which invited within its fold all classes of persons without any distinction of caste or creeds. They preached that religion and learning were not the property of only a few

[1] Coomaraswamy, *Selected example of Indian Art*, page 16.

favoured classes but it was that of all and everybody." Hence we find among the list of the 73 Saivaite Adiyars only 14 Brahmins the rest having been contributed by the other five castes. The works of these Acharyas were not metaphysical but altogether devotional. "They spoke as the mouth-piece of the whole Hindu people representing Hinduism as a whole against the attacks of the enemies of Hinduism." Their teachings and their hymns bore their fruits during the following centuries from the 9th to the 13th when the wave of Saiva fanaticism practically swept over the whole of South India and part of Ceylon, the strength and magnitude of which could only be compared to the outburst of Buddhism under Asoka and of Vaishnavism under Chaitannya. There are evidences to show that Saivaism of South India of this period spread its influence as far as Java. Old temples were recovered from the Jains and new and larger shrines and temples were constructed. The strings of temples which were built during this period by the Saivaite princes of the Chola dynasties constitute one of the best schools of Indian architecture. The patronage which the Chola princes accorded to religious sculpture was no less than that given to architecture. It may be supposed that the primitive *linga* could hardly afford any scope to the sculptors' art. One is surprised to find, however, the innumerable forms and conceptions of Siva, Pārvati, Subramanya and other deities which were associated with the Saiva cult in South India. They have supplied an ever-increasing array of Saivaite images a complete iconography of which, no doubt borrowed from the Saiva scriptures and *purānas*, are incorporated in the Sanskrit handbooks for image-makers.

In each temple while the *Dhruva-bera* or the *Mula bigraha*, the phallic symbol, remained a fixture, it had its accompanying secondary series of bronze images known as *Utsava bigrahas*[1] or *Bhoga murtis* (ceremonial images) which in order to stimulate the imagination of the populace were taken out in gorgeous processions and had been the subject of elaborate ceremonials. Ordinarily they are placed in rows in long *prākāras*, or corridors round the main shrine or in the passages leading to it, and form a veritable sculpture gallery in the procession-path of the pilgrims. We learn from an inscription of Raja Raja[2] that on the first day of the religious fête "musicians used to proclaim

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1 'Utsaba bigrahas' are also known as the 'Bhoga murtis' cp. *Kolggai devar* 'the god who is to receive the offerings.'

2 Hultzch, *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. II, part II, page 126, No. 26.

by the beat of the drum that the image of such and such deity will be carried in procession on three days including to-day." By far the most important group of these *Utsava murtis* are those now existing in the famous rock-cut temple at Trichinopoly, in the Jambukeswar temple at Trichinopoly and in the Brihadeswar Temple at Tanjore.

The Chola kings have done for South Indian art what the Pandyan kings have done for South Indian literature. It was early in the 9th century that the Cholas emerged as the ruling power in the South. Between 846 and 1135 A. D. Chola power was practically supreme. Of the long list of rulers, the kings who specially distinguished themselves as patrons of art are (1) Tondman Ilandiyam, (2) Parantaka (907-947), (3) Raja Raja, (4) Rajendra Chola (1011-1042), (5) Rajendra, II (1052), (6) Kulottunga III (1178-1215). The majority of the Chola princes whose master passion was for building temples which they endowed with lavish gifts have lent an impetus to South Indian art which is in some sense remarkable. It cannot be said that they were the pioneers of the worship of Saiva images in the temples. For, it cannot be doubted that the worship of the images of the various forms of Siva existed several centuries ago and the Natarāja temples of South India are anticipated in the image of Siva conceived as Natarāja in the Badami and the Ellora caves and also in the Pallava temples. The work on *Silpasastras* and iconology used by the image-makers of the south are all written in Sanskrit and must be attributed to the period of the composition of the Sanskrit *purānas* in South India. Besides, the practice of image-making which was confined to a special caste of artificers known sometimes as Kammalar, Sthapathis, Visvakarmas and Rathakarikas, points to a high antiquity; for considerable time must have elapsed before the craftsmen who took to their profession specialised in their arts and emerged as a distinct ethnical type having a special place in the social structure. The history of this artistic caste in South India has been very ably set forth in Dr. Coomaraswamy's "Indian Craftsman."

Devadānas, 'Gifts to the gods.'

To study the growth of Saivaite art during the Chola ascendency it is important to consider the various forms of *Devadānas* (lit., gift to the gods) or religious endowments which the Chola princes inaugurated and, in some cases, revived with a passionate ardour for which it is impossible to find a parallel in any other part of India. Every battle that they won or every piece of land that they added to their kingdom was followed by magnificent gifts to the

temples. Raja-Raja the builder of the famous Brihadeswar temple at Tanjore endowed villages after villages from the revenues of which the various services and festivals in the temple were appointed to be conducted. "No one who reads the long list of villages and lands or images and utensils, of gold and costly jewels presented to the Rajrajeswar's temple, which are inscribed on its walls, can fail to admire the solicitude of the king to provide for every want of the temple on a most lavish scale. Superb diadems and rubies; priceless necklaces of lustrous pearls and bright coral beads, bracelets, arm-rings, girdles, anklets, toe-rings all of gold set forth in precious stones and various other ornaments too numerous to mention were supplied to adorn the idols. Likewise dishes, cups, plates, bowls, pitchers, salvers, kettles, water-pots, flywhisks, and betel-leaf boxes wrought in pure gold were furnished for the daily service. Even the trumpets and parasols were made of gold; and although every kind of ornament and utensils made of the most costly materials have been supplied, the pious king was not satisfied until he had showered at the feet of the god flowers made of gold. A complete staff of servants and officials was appointed for the temples, such as goldsmiths, carpenters, musicians, dancing girls, astrologers, accountants and treasurers and lands were granted for their maintenance; sheep, cows, and buffaloes were given to supply milk and ghee; grants of money were made for the purchase of articles required for the daily service and whole villages were assigned to furnish annually the rice required for the sacred offerings. Of the many titles assumed by Raj Raj Chola none was more appropriate or more truly expressive of his purpose and sincere piety than the epithet *Siva-pāda Sekhara, i.e.,* "he whose crown is the feet of Siva."[1]

Raja Raja whose gifts were typical of the religious charities of the South Indian princes reminds one of Henry VIII whose gifts of images, pictures, jewels, relics, plates and stuff, etc., to the Church of the Westminster Abbey have become proverbial.[2] Raja Raja and his son also enthusiastically patronized the Saivaite devotional works, *e.g.*, the *Devārām, Tiruvāsagam, Tirumurai,* etc., by providing for their recitations in the temples on stated occasions called *Adhayan utsabas,* the 'festivals of recitations' and many of their inscriptions record gifts of lands for endowing

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[1] 'Raj Raj Chola', by Kanaka Sabhai Pillai, *Madras Review,* Vol. VII, page 110.

[2] Lethaby, "*Westminster Abbey and King's Craftsman,*" 1906, page 40.

these sacred recitations which included the Sanskrit epics and *purānas* as well as the Tamil hymns.[1]

Images.

Of special importance were the gifts of images and lamps to the temples, for which the examples set by the royal princes were followed extensively by the rich merchants and also by all classes of the people high and low who vied with each other in bestowing these sacred gifts. The images which generally formed the subject of these pious gifts fall into three classes: (1) The 'ceremonial images', *(utsaba murtis)* being the various forms of the main-deity. Sometimes special temples were built by private citizens who set up gold, silver or bronze images for which the temples were constructed. (2) The images or quasi-portraits of the Saivaite canonized saints. The images of these saints are found nearly in every temple. The Tanjore temple contains many such images. In the great temple at Nanjangode near Mysore there is a complete series of images of all the Saivaite saints. (3) The images or memorial portraits of the donors of the gifts or builders of the temples. They are generally conventional in type and are figured in the worshipping posture and do not seem to be actual portraits. The Queen of the Chola King Gandharāditya had the figure of her husband carved in the temple of Tirunallamudaiyar. There are similar portraits of the Nayakka princes at Pudu-mandapa in Madura and also at Rameswaram. The metal portraits of Krishnaraya of Vijayanagar and his queens found near Tirupati in the North Arcot District are very well-known. The portrait of Venkatachalapati discovered in Tirumalai (plate LXXV), is perhaps the best of its kind hitherto known, except perhaps the Chandeswara in the Colombo Museum which can hardly be called a portrait. Some memorial portraits of King Kadavarkone and others in worshipping posture have been discovered at Tiruchen Kattangudi in the Tanjore District (plate LXXIII). In one of the inscriptions the Pallava King Gunabhara is described as having set up an image of himself in the rock-cut temple at Trichinopoly. However interesting these portraits may be for historical enquiries, most of them have very little value for artistic purposes except as illustrating the practice of setting up this class of images in the temples by the donors themselves or their relatives. The object of such installation must be found in eminently pious intention rather than in any desire for self-advertisement.

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[1] E. Hultzch, *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. II, page 252, No. 65.

These memorial portraits were possibly a development of the earlier practice of attaching an effigy of the donor at the foot of an image set up by the pious devotees, a practice which has also survived in many of the South Indian images, *e.g.*, in the image of Subramanya (plate LIV). The gifts to the temples, though generally made from devotional motives sometimes owed their origins to a desire to win divine favours or assistance in worldly accomplishments by the donor. As we learn, for instance, from an inscription of Vallabhadeva, a military officer of Deva Raya, II, of Vijayanagara (1446-47) on the east wall of the central shrine of the Raj Rajeswara temple at Tanjore, that he presented to the God at Tanjore certain gold and silver ornaments " with the desire to accomplish the conquest of the world *(dig-vijaya)*[1] ".

In ancient Greece, among votive objects or *anathemata*, figures representing human persons were also very common. These represented the dedicators themselves or others in whom they were nearly interested ; some of them " represented the victors at the atheletic games and were set up in temple precints and were intended rather as thank-offerings than as means of glorifying the victors themselves[2]". It is very interesting to read the accounts of these gifts of images in the innumerable inscriptions which have been discovered in the various temples in South India. They are not confined to the royal personages alone but people from all classes of society had been their donors, as will appear from the inscriptions to which we will presently refer. The spirit of these votive offerings is very well rendered in the famous lines of Lucian :—

" Thine own fair form's sweet image take,
Than this no choicer offering can I make."

Amongst votive offerings in ancient Greece similar gifts of images are also recorded.[3] The statues of Artemis generally offered at childbirth were more common than other images. As nearest equivalent in Christian Church may be cited, the Catholic custom of making relic-holders in the shape of busts and statues. An inscription dated the 48th year of the reign of King Kulottunga, I (1069-1119 A.D.), records that Nanurruvan Malaiyam a native of Kiliyur of Tirumunaippa set up an image of Natarāja in

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[1] *South Indian Inscriptions*, page 339, Vol. II, part III.
[2] F. B. Tarbell, *A History of Greek Art*, 1896, page 124.
[3] " *Greek votive offerings* " by W. H. D. Rouse, M.A. (Cambridge University Press), 1902, at page 254.

the temple of Neyvanai and made a grant of land for offerings.[1] An inscription from Tiruvilimilai states that the mother of the chief Rajendra Chola (A.D. 1012) set up a copper image of Algiyamanavala (a Vaisnava saint) in the 10th year of the king's reign.[2] Another inscription on the same stone bears a record which registers a gift to the same temple and to the setting up of the image of Sri Krishna. Similarly, a gift was made in the 11th year of the reign of Raj Raja Deva, III, to a shrine in the temple of Kovilur by the citizens of Vikkirma-barana-puram in Umbarnadu, and in the 31st year of the same reign another grant was made to the shrine of Surya Deva by the citizens of Pirantaka-puram. A record of the 11th year of the same reign refers to the setting up of an image of the Saiva devotee Manikkavasagar in the third *prākāra* (gallery) of the temple of Tiruvilimilai.[3] It is Raj Rajeswar who is said to have set the first example of setting up the images of the Saiva saints in the temple of Tanjore.[4]

The list of these grants could be easily multiplied at length but we shall refer to a few more. From a record in the 12th year of the reign of King Raja Raja I, we find that Nakkan Nallattadigal, a member of the community, called Raj-Raj-atterinja kai-kkolar presented an image of silver to the temple of Koneri-raj-puram. Similarly an inscription of the time of Kulottunga Chola, II, records that the image of the goddess Uma-parameswari was presented to the temple at Tirimalam which was founded in the 15th year of the reign of Rajendra Chola, II. The Chandeswara shrine in the Uma Maheswara temple at Konneri-Raj-puram was built of stone in the 15th year of the reign of King Kulottunga[5] by a private individual who had his own figure and that of Chandeswara cut on the west wall of the shrine. The references to the gifts of *Utsava Murtis* are also numerous. We shall refer, here, to only one example. A grant to the temple of Lakhsmi Narsinha Murti at Narasinhapuram states that an agent of the king named Tippara Pillai of Conjeeveram set up at this place the image of Lakhsmi-Narsinhamurti on which occasion he granted lands to Bramhanas, to servants, to the reciters of the *purānas* and the Vedas. An image called Prahlad-Purandara *which was to be carried out in processions* was also presented to

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[1] Madras Government Epigraphist's Progress Report for 1908-1909, page 95.
[2] *Ibid*, page 93.
[3] *Ibid*, page 101.
[4] Hultzch, *South Indian Inscriptions*, page 66.
[5] Madras Government Epigraphist's Report, 1909-1910, page 88.

the temple on the same occasion.[1] More numerous, however, are the references to the gifts of lamps which the pious devotees thought of special merit. These lamps or *deepas* are of two kinds—those which were used for the ceremony of *arati* (the waving of the lamp) and those that were kept burning before the images throughout the nights, as a symbol, as it were, of the burning devotion of the donor. And we read in the inscriptions various endowments and arrangements made for the burning of these lamps.[2] There is a curious reference to a fine imposed at the time of Kulottunga III. A grant of his time records an accidental death in a deer hunt, the punishment for which was a fine to be utilized for burning a perpetual lamp in the temple for the merit of the man who was killed "in order that he may escape the possible mischief of the revengeful soul of the victim."[3]

Lamps.

Many of these lamps were artistically conceived in the form of a female figure holding the burner, the donor of the gift being suggested by the figure. These were known so far back as the first century of the Christian era as will appear from a reference to them by V. Kanakasabhai Pillai in his '*Tamil* 1800 *years ago*' (Madras, 1904). "Lamps in the shape of a female statue in a standing posture, holding with both hands the receptacle for oil and wick, appear to have been in common use in the Tamil country" (page 38).[4] In celebrating the yearly festival in honour of Indra the Chola King Killi-valvan is reported to have announced with the beat of the drums his directions: "Arrange in front of your houses lamps borne by statues." These are now known as the *Dipa-Lakshmis* or 'beauty lamps' and they have inspired the South Indian bronze-workers to produce some of the finest pieces of sculpture of the period. (*Vide* plates XXXVI & XXXVII.) The practice of presenting lamps to the temples was also current in ancient Greece. After the sack of Thebes, Alexander consecrated to Apollo at Cyme a hanging lamp which Pliny describes.[5]

This practice of bestowing gifts of lamps and images to the temples originated in the belief in spiritual efficacies to the donors of such endowments which are supported by

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[1] Madras Government Epigraphist's Report, 1910-1911, page 86.
Seven Chola inscriptions (No. 123-129) have been copied by the Government Epigraphists in the Siva temple at Tiruppayanam near Tirupadi. All of them record gifts of lamps to the temple.

[2] Madras Government Epigraphist's Report, 1909-1910, page 95.

[3] Nedu-nal-vadai, I, 101.

[4] "*Greek Votive Offerings*" by W. H. D. Rouse, 1902 (Cambridge University Press), p. 117.

texts of the *Sāstras* in each case. For instance the spiritual merits attaching to the gifts of lamps to the temples are prescribed in various texts collected by Hemādri on *Deep-dāna* in his *Dān Khanda* (Vol. I, p. 939-46, Bibliotheca, Indica, 1873), one of which is worth quoting : " *Deepadān-ādparam-dānam na-vūtam-na-vabisyati,*" *i.e.*, there has been and there can be no better gifts than the gifts of lamps. Of the various texts bearing on the directions for presenting images of various gods collected by Hemādri the most important deal with the gifts of images of Bramhā, Vishnu, Siva, Dakhināmurti, Gopāla, Garuda and others, and the images are sometimes given in groups and referred to as *Trimurtidānam, Chaturmurtidānam, Panchamurtidānam.* As a matter of preference golden images are recommended and silver and copper images are stated as optional gifts.[1] The gift of the donor's own images (*ātma-pratikritidāna*) is also recognized by the Sastras, the authoritative text being that of *Vabishyottara purāna,* which goes on to state that the image of the donor should also be accompanied by the donor's favourite relatives (*Priya-jana-sahitām*). Thus the various portraits of Kings are associated with their Queens or sons (*vide* plate LXXIV), a practice which has its parallel also in Egyptian sculptures, *e.g.*, Mycerinus and his wife (Boston Museum), and Shemka and his wife and son (Louvre).

Sthapathis.

It is apparent that under conditions such as these when princes and peasants combined to load the temples with such numerous gifts the demand for images should be great. The demand had its supply and had kept alive with unstinted patronage, a school of sculpture and bronze workers who are commonly known as *Sthapathis.* No doubt they existed long before the Chola ascendency, but the work which the religious patronage of this period thrust upon them gave an impetus to their art which undoubtedly attained their highest water-mark between the 10th and 13th centuries. These sculptors generally associated themselves in villages solely populated by them. During the earlier times many such villages existed in the District of Tanjore, one of which has survived to this day. In the village of Swamimalai,[2]

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1 " *Sailajād lohajam Srestham Kartrinām-tu-jalamtathā Lohajāduttamam swarnam madhyamam rajatam bhabet Tāmrajam Kanyāsam Khyātam tesu tesu jalamtathā,*" *i.e.*, metal images are better than clay images, though the spiritual benefit to the donor is the same, of metal images those of gold are the best, next come the silver ones and then the copper ones, the spiritual merit being the same.

2 *Tanjore District Gazetteer,* Vol. I, 1906, p. 221. The meagre notice in the *Gazetteer* absolutely ignores the existence of this school of sculpture.

on the Cauvery three miles west of Kumbakonam, there still exists a group of families who have been practising the art of image-making in bronze and stones as a hereditary profession for generations past. In fact this little group of artists now form the only remnant of the great school of South Indian bronzes. Most of these artists were experts in casting images in all sorts of materials, but a majority of them specialised in the art of casting images in metals as most of the gifts to the temple consisted of images cast in silver, copper or bronze. It may be supposed that the sculpture of the Chola period was essentially Saivaite in its character. No doubt, it is true, to a certain extent, that Saivaism has contributed some of the artistically fine pieces to the various examples of Indian bronzes. The sculptors were, however, employed as freely by the Vaishnavas as by the Saivaites, and we find, some of the images of Krishna and the Vaishnava saints are as characteristic examples of South Indian bronze sculpture as any Saivaite image. Vaishnavism had been springing into activity in South India about the same time when Saivaism was trying to overthrow the Buddhist and Jain religion. In fact many of the Vaishnava *Alawars* or saints are contemporaries and some are predecessors of the famous Saivaite saint Manikka-Vasagar and others. In some cases the Vaishnava and Saiva sects combined in their campaigns against the non-Brahmin religions. The religious activity which finally overlapped Jainism in the South about the 8th century was generally Hindu in its character in which the Saivas and the Vaishnavas took equal parts. The schism between the two sects became pronounced during the advent of the Chola kings one of whom is reported to have persecuted Rāmānuja; but a period of toleration followed and there are many references to kings who endowed Saivaite and Vaishnava temples with impartial bounty. In many of the principal temples dedicated to Siva we often meet with, as at Chidambaram, a special shrine with an image of Vishnu in the same enclosure. As Fergusson has noticed, one of the peculiarities of the Tanjore temple is that all the sculptures on the *gopuras* belong to the religion of Vishnu while everything in the courtyard is dedicated to the worship of Siva. However, Saivaism seems to have been the older and the predominating cult in South India, and many of the mannerisms of Saivaite sculptures have been imitated by the artists of the Vaishnava schools.[1] '*Sivālaya*' literally meaning 'the

Saivaite and Vaishnavite images.

[1] *Vide* p. 56.

abode of Siva' is a generic term used in South India to denote, in common parlance, a temple corresponding to the Tamil word '*koyil.*' The principles of temple-worship according to Vaishnavite or the Bhāgabat school are laid down in the *Nārada panca rātra*. In the chapter dealing with *Charyāpada* rules are laid down for the method of making the holy statues and the rituals connected with their consecration.[1] In the *Pādma tantra*[2] there is an express direction that the all-pervading Vishnu should be worshipped in images to be constructed by artists according to the rules of the *sāstras*. Sankracārya also gives five methods of worshipping the supreme Lord Bhāgavat Vāsudeva :— (1) *Abhigamana* or going to the temple diety with the speech, the body and the mind centred on him ; (2) *Upādāna* or collecting the materials for worship ; (3) *Ijyā* or worship ; (4) *Svādhyāya* or the muttering of the usual mantra ; (5) *Yoga* or meditation. So that the theological basis of Vaishnavite art was as elaborate as that of Saivaite art. The Vaishnava theologians distinguish the following five aspects of the godhead :—(1) Parā, transcendental ; (2) Vyuha, cosmogonical ; (3) Vibhāva, incarnational ; (4) Antaryāmi, immanential ; and (5) Archā, worshipable.[3] The Saivaite schools recognize three conceptions, *viz.*, 'Sakala,' 'Niskala' and 'Isha.' '*Sakala*' corresponds to the '*archaic*' or worshipable form, '*Niskala*' answers to the *parā* or the transcendental idea, and '*Isha*' represents the cosmogonical or the immanential aspect.[4]

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[1] "Vaishnavism and Saivaism" by Sir R. G. Bhandarkar, in the *Encyclopædia of Indo-Aryan Research*, Strassburg, 1913, at page 40.

[2] "*Tasmāt sarbātmanā-Vishnum-pratisthāpyavipujayet · Silpivir uirmite-bimbe-sāstra-dristena-bartmanā.*" Pādma-tantra, III, p. 26, 7.

[3] 'Aratha Pancak' by A. Govindacarya Swamin, J. R. A. S., 1910, page 576.

[4] '*Sakala-nishkala-misha-Bivāgata Tribidhameba-bapu-parameslhhina*" (Kāsyapiyam).

CHAPTER III.

Canons of the Silpa Sastras.

IN studying this school of bronzes it will be useful to consider the methods and process employed and the rules followed by these artists. Bronze is technically known by these artists as *Panchalouha*, literally the 'five irons'—the amalgam being composed of the five metals—copper, silver, gold, brass and white lead. The copper forms the chief ingredient and according to the present practice the gold and silver are generally dispensed with. In most of the modern images the amalgam is made of the following proportions:—10 parts of copper, ½ part of brass and ¼ part of white lead. The process employed in casting the images is most well-known as the *cire perdu* or the 'lost-wax' process.[1] The image is first modelled in wax in actual size which is wrapped in a thick coating of soft clay kept in position by wires. The wax model is then caused to be melted away by the application of heat which leaves a 'hollow' in which the amalgam is poured in. After the metal has set and cooled, the mud wrapper is removed and the figure is then chased and chiselled and all the fine finish is then worked at which sometimes takes days and months, according to the skill and technical power of the artist. It is clear, that unlike the copper-gilt images of the Tibeto-Nepal School, the South Indian *Pancha louha* sculptures are all cast in solid metals. This is also the case with the metal images found in Ceylon. There are actual texts which forbid the casting of hollow images. The Ceylonese rule is found in the canon attributed to Sariputra which runs as follows:—"No images of gold or other metal should be cast hollow within. The making of hollow images will ere long result in the loss of wife and wealth and lead to quarrels and famine." (Coomaraswamy *Mediæval Sinhalese Art*, p. 154.)

The wax-model.

The first stage in casting the image is what is technically known as '*Madhuchistha Bidhānam*' or the preparation of the wax-model. That the practice is a very old

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[1] "*Lohajam-sakalam-yattu madhuchistena nirmitam*" i.e., 'the metal images are made from wax.'

one appears from chapter 69 of the Mānasāra[1] which ascribes the process to the time of Agastya, Kasyapa, Garga and other Rishis.[2] Unfortunately the description of the process given in the chapter is very meagre and corrupt and full of mis-spellings which make the text quite unintelligible. The available portions of *Kāsyapiya* do not contain any chapter dealing with the technique of the casting. The art was practised by the image-makers in the Buddhist period[3] (as is still done in some parts of Burmah) and it will be interesting to compare the formula for making bronze or 'Samrit' as it is called, as laid down in an old Siamese manuscript now in the possession of the King of Siam.[4]

A wax model of *Siva-Kāma-Sundari* illustrated in figure (1) was made for the writer by Guruswamy Sthapathy, a living hereditary sculptor from Swami Malai. This will help us to follow the rules and canons of image-making which are still followed according to the old Sanskrit texts, it being considered improper to follow any other measurements in the making of images.[5] In the *Brāmhiya, Sāraswatiya, Kāsyapiya* and in the *Mānasāra* elaborate rules are laid down dealing with measurements of all sorts of images current in South India. The young apprentice is taught to learn by heart these formulas and he learns their practical application in the workshop of some master-sculptor probably his own father, brother or grandfather. Some times he is taught a series of *versus memorialis* which give in a few words the

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[1] MSS. No. I. A. 60 in the collection of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.

[2] The use of copper seems to be as old as the Vedas as will appear from a reference to *'lohitam āyās* (red metal, *i.e.*, copper) in the Atharva Veda, XI 3, 7.

[3] The colossal copper figure of Buddha discovered in Sultangung, Behar, was seven feet high and weighed nearly 27 maunds and has been attributed to the 5th century A.D., *vide* "Manufacture of copper in Ancient India" by Professor Panchanon Neogy, M.A., read before the Indian Association for the Cultivation of Science, Calcutta, 9th April 1914.

[4] "Take 12 parts of weight of pure tin, melt it at a slow fire, and avoid bringing it to a red-heat. Then pour in two parts of quicksilver, stir until the latter has become thoroughly absorbed and amalgamated, and cast the mixture into a bar. Take 80 parts of refined copper and melt it, and then gradually incorporate with it the amalgam, stirring vigorously in the meantime. Now throw into the crucible a sufficient quantity of ashes obtained from the stems of the 'bua-bok' (lotus) creeper, so as to cover the molten metal. Remove the dross with an iron ladle, and the metal remaining is Samrit bronze." This percentage thus works out to be 85.11 copper, 12.76 tin, and 2.13 quicksilver. *Science Siftings* quoted in *The Statesman*, 19th November 1911.

[5] To Mr. W. S. Hadaway, Government School of Art, Madras, is due the credit of publishing some of the South Indian canons for image making, *vide* his paper on "Proportions of Images taken from the Silpa Sastras" read before the India Society, London, published in '*The Hindu*' on the 15th and 16th August 1912. His recent article published in the *Ostasiatische Zeitschrift* does not contain any new materials.

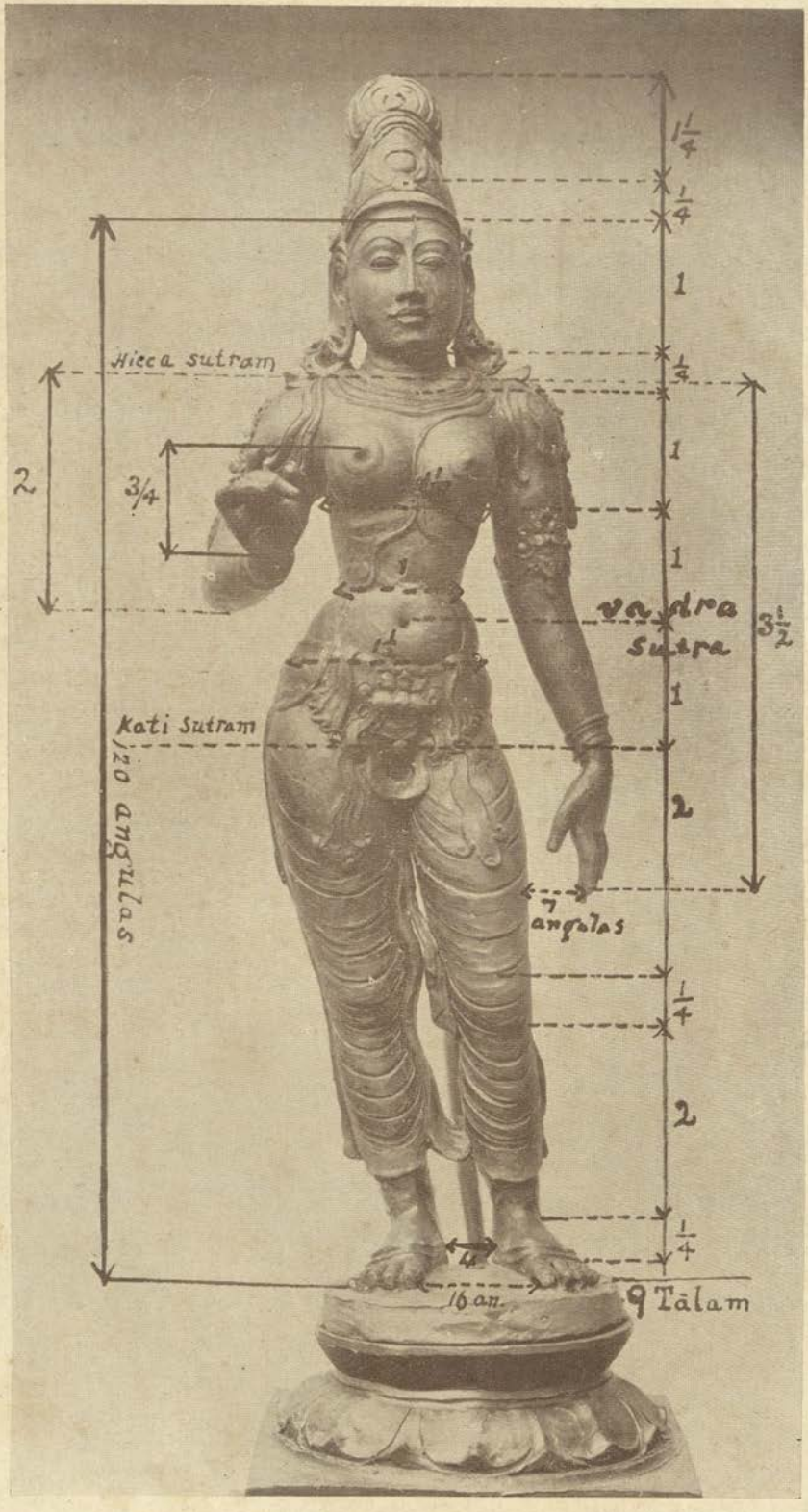

Fig. 1.

important measurements and are found more useful than the longer sets of rules given in the Sanskrit works above named. Examples of these mnemonic verses will be quoted at the proper place.

The value of these canons of proportions in the development or otherwise of the art of sculpture is of some consideration. It has been stated that the rules laid down in the *Silpa Sastras* have for ever limited the scope or originality of the genius of the artist. To repeat the same forms in strict accordance to the *dhyāna mantras* in measures and proportions immutably fixed could hardly afford any latitude in the artistic expression of the sculptor.

Significance of the canons.

If one compare and examine different examples of the same theme, say the Natarāja or the Ganesha, it will be found that they have been treated with artistic skill varying with the degree of the genius or the technical power of each performer. The rules and canons are only limitations for the mediocre and the incapacitate—and not to the real artist to whom the fixed convention of a particular theme is never a barrier to his artistic expression. The canons or the *dhyāna mantras* which have defined on strict lines the conception and the form of the subject have not proved to the masters of South Indian school of bronzes any serious impediment to their artistic skill. It was in later times when the artists divorced from the culture and training of their predecessors, failed to grasp the meaning and significance of the original conceptions suggested in the *dhyānas* or failed to interpret the spirit of these conceptions that they fell back merely on the rules and canons which alone could not help them to create artistic images. The conceptions of the Brahmin iconographers could only be interpreted and expressed in forms by those artists who could enter into the spirit of these conceptions and sympathise with the meaning and significance of their ideals.

The Greek Canons.

The ancient Greek artists had also their canons and systems of proportions but the beauty of the great schools of Greek Sculpture was no more due to these formulas than the artistic excellence of these South Indian bronzes was due to the systems laid down in the *Silpa Sāstras*. Polykleitos (440-410 B.C.) who composed a *Treatise on Proportion* with a model in marble known as Doryphorus used a system founded on the Egyptian rules. There was also a system attributed to Vitruvius which used to be followed by Leonardo da Vinci and also by Lysippius. The system of proportions was therefore a very ancient practice and had their uses for the practical

sculptor. The Buddhist image-makers had[1] also their system of proportions. The rules of the South Indian sculptors are however quite different from those practised by the Buddhist artists and the Hindu sculptors of the North.

Dhyānas and lakhanas.

The rules which are embodied in the South Indian manuscripts fall into three divisions :—(*a*) The *dhyāna* or the contemplative verse which gave the iconography of each deity. They are sometimes a little different from the *dhyānas* or *stottras* (hymns) in actual use in the worship of the deity in the temple. They set forth in concise language the characteristics of the deity giving the number of hands and the weapons carried by it and a general description of the pattern of the image. The *dhyānas* used in the cult-worship of the image in the temple dealt specially with the spiritual character and the personality of the deity rather than its physical characteristics. The difference between the two kinds of *dhyānas* will be found in the two verses quoted in the description of Natarāja (Plates III & IV). (*b*) The *lakhanas* or the precipé which suggested a sort of a pattern image in the form of which the particular deity described in the *dhyāna* is to be translated. The *lakhanas* are given generally only in respect of the more important deities. They give the pose and other details and particulars for the image which are not found in the *dhyānas*. (*c*) The measurements of the different parts of the body and their relation to each other. These measurements are given with reference to particular classes of images. The types, suggested by the system of measurements given in the *Silpa Sāstras*, do not relate to the construction of human figures although they are deduced from the average human model. They suggest a standard for a super-human being, situate on a plane higher than the ethnical level.

The face is taken as the unit or the common measure and is technically known as *tāla*. In the 4th chapter of the *Sukra-nitisāra* as also in the *Pratimālakhana*, chapter 58 of the Brihat Sanhitā, measurements are given of the average human body according to which the average male figure is stated to be eight times the face which is represented by one *tāla*. This law of eight heads or *asta tālam* is therefore the same as laid down by Vitruvius. Any height for a human male less than the *eighth measure* is

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[1] *The Kokka* No. 6 and No. 7 of 1906.

conceived in the *Sukraniti* as dwarfish or below the average. The average human female figure is given as of seven measures (*Sapta tāla*). The average infant figure is laid down as of the fifth measure (*Pancha tāla*) : " *Pancha-tāla smritā-bālā*,"[1] ' The fifth measure is said to be for the infant.'

The measures higher than the *asta tāla* are reserved for the images of the gods, demons, *rakshasas* and other super-human beings. Thus the image of the goddess according to the *Sukraniti* is always in the ninth measure, that of a *rakshasi* in the tenth measure. According to the *Brihat sanhitā* the measure of the finest type of man is given as 108 *angulas* which correspond to the *Madhyamnava-tāla* ; that of the average man 96 angulas, the *asta tāla* measure ; and the man below the average is stated to be 84 *angulas* high.[2] The South Indian and the Ceylonese manuscripts however differ a little from the *Sukraniti* and other works in respect of the rules for the measure of the deities. But except in the case of the image of Ganesha and Krishna all the measures given for the images of deities are higher than the *asta tāla* the average human measure, as stated in the *Sukraniti* ; the higher measurements suggesting a relatively ' heroic ' type.

Tāla.

The *tāla*, the measure of the face, is sub-divided into 12 parts each represented by one *angula*. The lowest unit being *anus* or the atoms which are seen in a ray of sunlight streaming through a crevice. The units of measurements which appear to be the same in all the South Indian texts may be thus tabulated :—

8 Anus	..	1 Renu or molecule.
8 Renus	..	1 Romagra (lit., the top of a hair).
8 Romagras		1 Likhya.
8 Likhyas	..	1 Yuka.
8 Yukas	..	1 Yaba or barley-corn.
8 Yabas	..	1 Angula[3] (Manangul).
12 Angulas	..	1 Tāla.

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1 Sukraniti, Chapter IV, 4, sloka 88.
2 *Brihat Sanhita*, Chs. 67-68, verse 105.
3 *Vide* (*a*) Tāla Prakaranam in Agastya's Sa-Kalādhikār.
(*b*) *Brhāmhyia Chitra Karma*, 13 chapter.
(*c*) The *Karan Agama*, quoted by my friend Mr. Narayan Iyer of the Government School of Art, Trevandrum, gives the same measures, as current in many of the Travancore manuscripts.
(*d*) Sukraniti, Chapter IV ; Sloka, 82.
(*e*) Barahamihira, *Pratima Lakhana*, Chapter 58, Slokas 1 and 2.

Angulā.

Angulas are sometimes classified into (1) *Mānāgulas* according to the above measure; (2) *Mātrāngula* represented by the second digit of middle finger of the right hand of man; (3) *Deha labdhāngula* (Lit-'angula as found in the body') the measure as found in the *angula* or finger of the image-maker himself. The *mān-angula* is the absolute measure which is the 'foot rule' of the craftsman. The distinction of the three classes is however not quite clear. The *Mātrāngula* evidently is not a fixed measure like inches but are only units for measurements of a particular figure and must be proportionate to the total height prescribed for a given figure. The *tāla* is deduced from the length of the face which is sub-divided into 12 *angulas* as will appear from the drawing made by a South Indian artist. (Figure 2.) The cranium is not included within the *tālam* which is taken from the top of the forehead to the bottom of the chin. The length of the face differs according to the various *tāla* or measures prescribed for particular deities generally constructed in the *nava tāla* or the *dasa tāla* measure. The *nava tāla* (ninth measure) is again classified into three groups—*Uttama-nava-tāla* (the best ninth measure); the *Madhyama-nava-tāla* (the medium); and the *Adhama-nava-tāla* (the lowest). Similarly the *dasa-tāla* is also divided into 'Uttam,' 'Madhyam' and 'Adhama' or as sometimes called 'Kaniyasa' (lowest).

The Three Measures.

All the existing manuscripts in the chapters on *Tāla Prakarana* give the detailed measurements of the component parts of each of the three groups of the *nava-tāla* images. The different proportions comprised in the *Uttam Dasa tāla* quoted below are taken from the Tanjore manuscripts *Tārā Lakhanam*[1] and are practically the same as given in the *Kāsyapiya*, chapter 63, where some of the passages are corrupt and unintelligible:—

The total length is to be divided into 124 equal angulas or parts ("*Chaturbingsa-satam kritwā tathai-bāngsena mānayet*") of which the following divisions are prescribed:—

4	parts	the length of the crown up to the end of the hair.
13	,,	the length of the face.
½	,,	the length of the larynx.
4	,,	the length of the neck.

[1] *Vide* Burnells' Classified Index to Sanskrit MSS in the Palace Library of Tanjore, Silpa Sastra VI, No. 9.

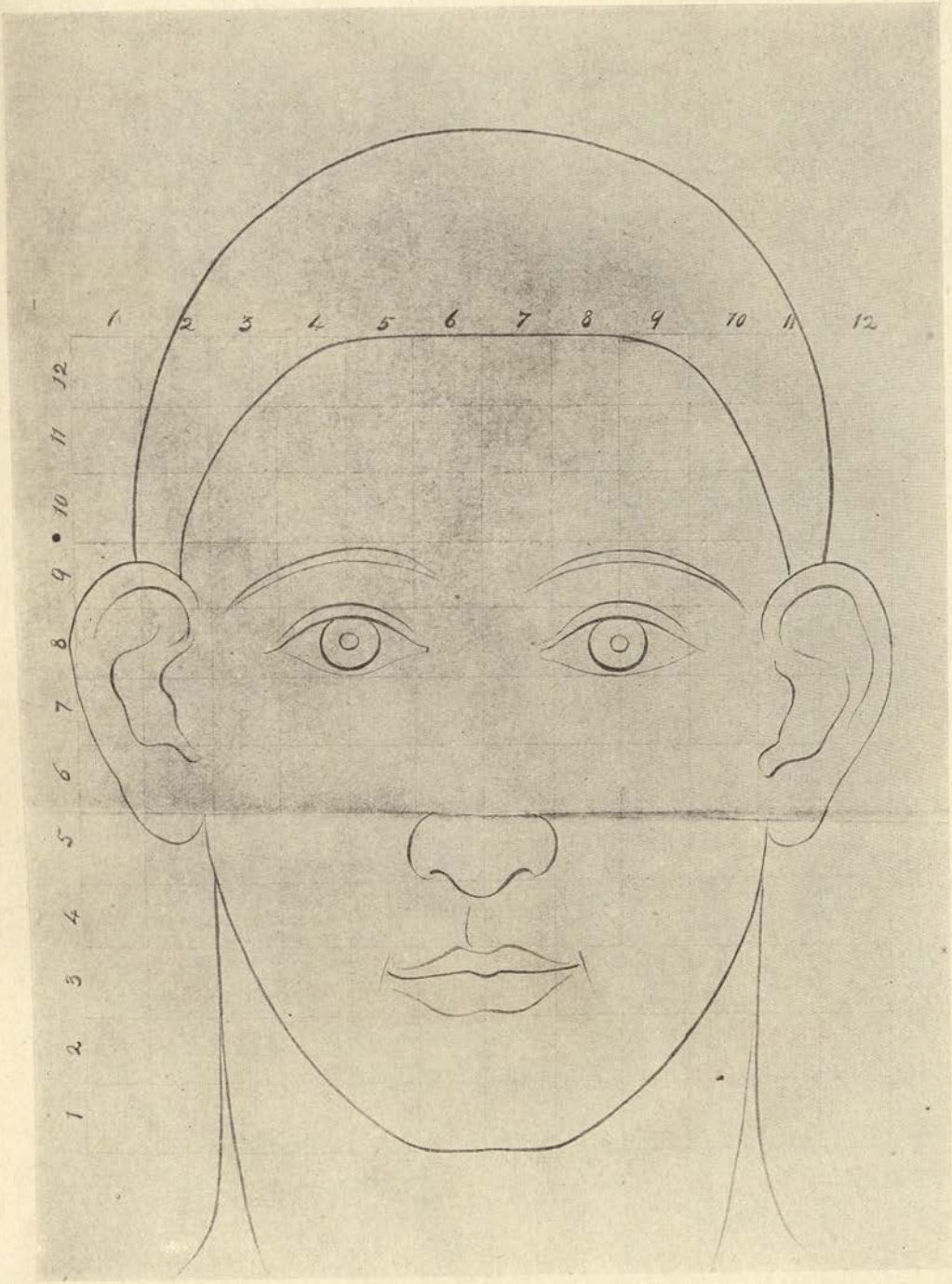


Fig. 2

13½	Parts	the length of the breast from the neck to the heart.
13½	,,	the length from the heart to the navel.
13½	,,	the length from the navel to the pubis.
27	,,	the length from the pubis to the knee.
4	,,	the length of the knee joint.
27	,,	the length of lower leg from the knee to the ankle.
4	,,	the height of the foot from the ankle to the ground.

Total 124 parts.

The measure of the *Madhyam Dasatāla* is stated as follows in the *Kāsyapiya*, chapter 49 :—

The total length is divided into 120 equal *angulas* composed of the following parts :—

The headgear	1	part.
From the crown to the termination of the hair	3	parts.
From the hair to the eye-lashes ..	4¾	,,
From the eye-lashes to the nose ..	4½	,,
From the nose to the chin ..	3¾	,,
The neck	4	,,
From the neck to the heart ..	13	,,
From the heart to the navel ..	13	,,
From the navel to the pubis ..	13	,,
From the pubis to the knee ..	26	,,
The knee	4	,,
The shank	26	,,
The foot	4	,,
Total	120	parts.

The *Adham-Dasa-tāla* according to the same manuscript is as follows :—

The whole length being divided into 112 parts is taken in the following proportions :—

The head gear	1	part.
The crown	3	parts.
The face	12½	,,
The neck	4	,,

The neck to breast	.. ..	12½ parts.
Breast to navel	.. .. ..	12½ ,,
Navel to pubis	.. .. ..	12½ ,,
Thigh up to knee	.. ..	25 ,,
Shank	.. ..	25 ,,
Foot	.. ..	4 ,,
	Total	112 parts.

The *Nava tāla* measures in the three grades can be conveniently stated in a tabular form. The texts of the *Kāsyapiya* chapter 50 and 51 and the *Brāmhiya*[1] Chapter VII are authorities for the figures.

	Uttama Nava Tāla	Madhyama Nava Tāla.	Adhama Nava Tāla.
	Parts.	Parts.	Parts.
Total length	112	108	104
The head gear	1	...	
The crown	3	3	
The face	12	12	
Neck	4	3	
Neck to breast	12	12	
Breast to navel	12	12	
Navel to pubis	12	12	
Thigh	24	24	
Knee	4	3	
Shank	24	24	
Foot	4	3	
	112	108	

The *Madhyam-nava-tāla* and its component parts are illustrated in the photograph of the wax model (Fig. 1) one *tālaṁ* in the diagram is equal to 12 parts or *angulas*. The *Uttama-dasa-tāla* is shown in the diagram of Vishnu (Perumal) prepared by an artist of Travancore (figure 3).

According to the texts, the images of the following deities are to be constructed according to the *Uttama-dasa-tāla* proportions: (*a*) Bramha; (*b*) Vishnu, including his

1 Burnell, Tanjore Catalogue VI, 5 *Bhramhiya silpa.*

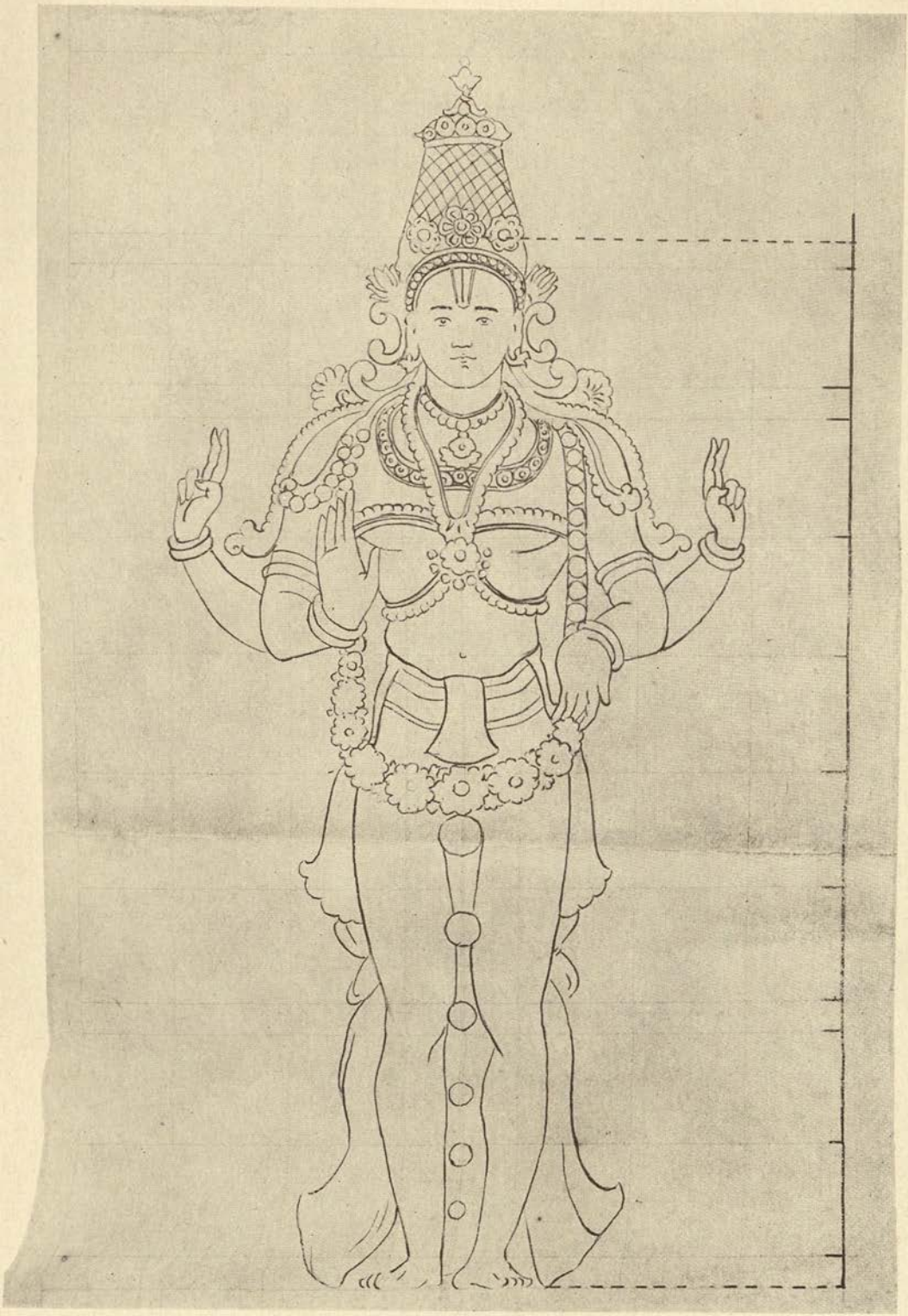
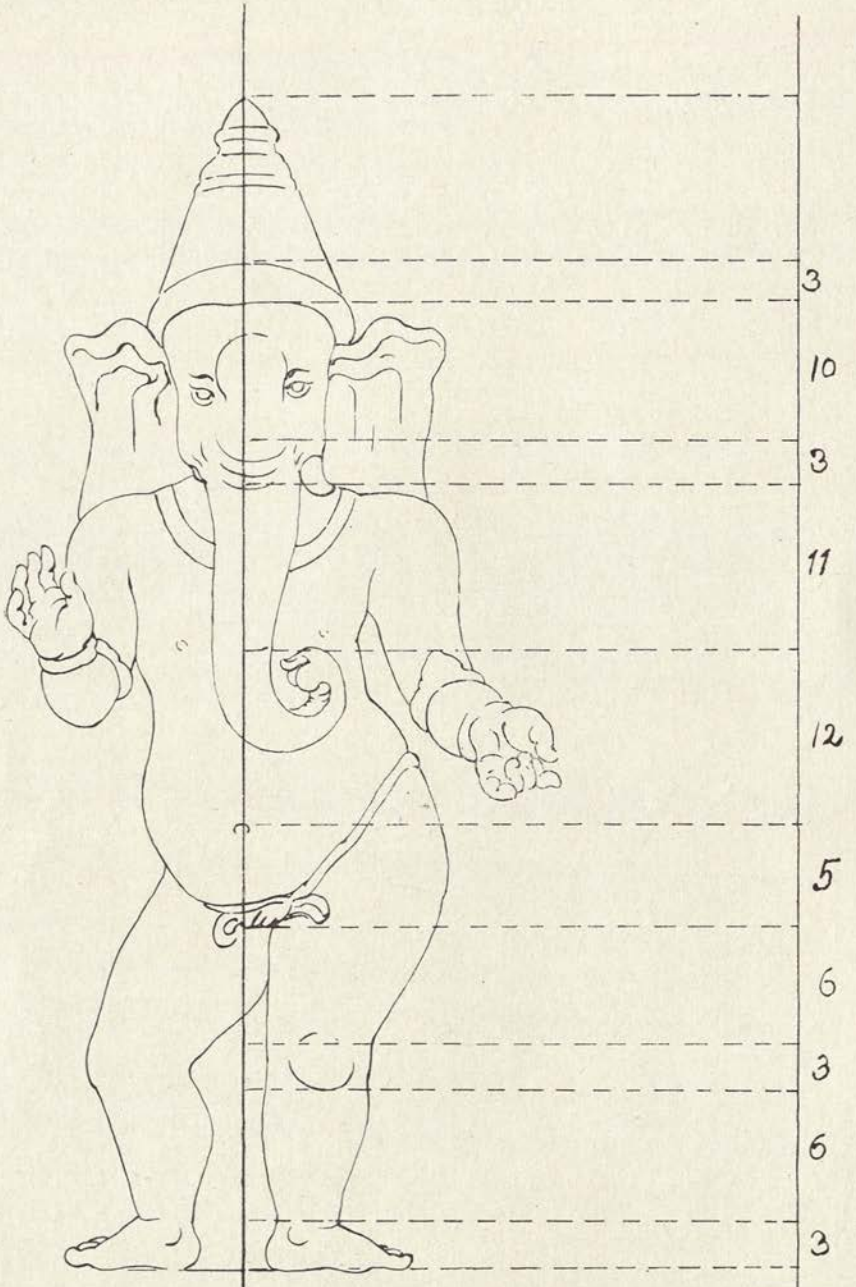
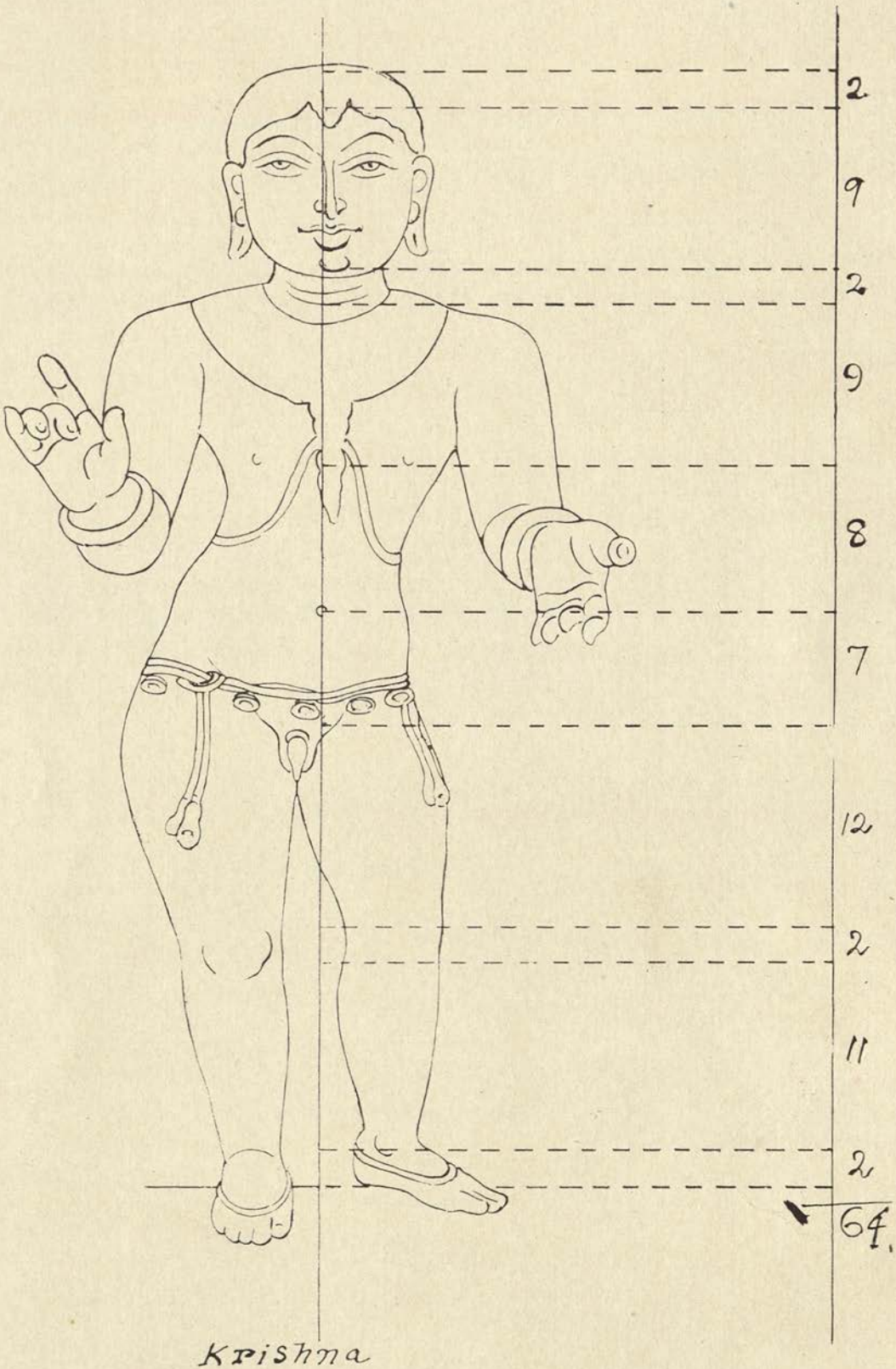


Fig. 3



Ganesa

Figure 4



Krishna

Figure 5

conceptions as Narasinha, Nārāyana, Varāha and others; (*c*) Siva or Maheswara including his conceptions as Natarāja, Rudra and others. The *Madhyam-dasa-tāla* applies only to images of female deities particularly the *Saktis* of Bramhā Vishnu and Maheswara. The *Kāsyapiya* enumerates under the *Madhyama-dasa-tāla* the following goddesses :— Uma, Saraswati, Durga, Usha, Vhumadebi, Lakhmi, Sapta-Matrikās and Jestha Devi. To the *Adhama-dasa-tāla* belong the following images :—Chandra, Surya, Kartikeya, Aswini Kumāras, Chandesa, Khetrapāla and Indra.

The images of the canonized saints are according to the prevailing practice proportioned in the *Adhama-nava-tāla* and their female consorts in the *asta tāla* the common human measure.

Of the lower measures the *pancha tālam* canon is used for figures of Ganesha and the youthful Krishna and is probably based on the fact suggested in the *Sukraniti*, that in the case of small children the torso and the head are proportionately much longer than the legs than in an average full grown person. The canons in respect of these images are embodied in two very interesting mnemonic verses which are well known among all the image-makers :—

GANESHA.

" Guna (3) Jama (10) Nayana (3) Rudray (11)
Dwādasi (12) sat Satāngsai (12)
Anala (6) Rasa (5) Guna (3) vāgam
Kesh Baktrancha Kantham,
Hridayodara-medhra, Uru-jānusha-janghā
Tālamiti-udayamānam panchatālam Ganesham."

KRISHNA.

" Kara (2) Nava (9) Nayana (2) Nandayi (9)
Nāg (8) Pātāl (7) Vhānu (12)
Rudra (11) Kara (2) Hridaya Mānam
Pancha-tālancha-Krishnam."

The proportions given in the verses are illustrated in the accompanying diagrams (figures 4 and 5). Some of the texts give the different plumb-lines which guide the sculptors in the construction of the images. Dr. Coomaraswamy in his *Mediæval Sinhalese Art* has given the principal

plumb-lines as used by the Sinhalese image-makers, with an illustrative diagram (vide *Mediæval Sinhalese Art*, p. 156 & fig. 95). Though his diagram of *Lamba Tatuwa* relates to Buddhist images it is practically the same as the *Pralamba Phalaka* of the South Indian manuscripts. The principal plumb-lines are as follows :—

1. The *Bramha Sutra*.—The axis or the imaginary line passing through the centre of the image.
2. The *Madhya Sutra* or the *Rudra Sutra* is the medial plumb-line drawn from the centre of the crown of the head, the centre of the chest, the navel, the private part, the centre point between the knees and the inner sides of the feet.
3. The *Pārsa Sutra* is the side plumb-line drawn from the side of the forehead, the cheek, the side of the arm, the centre of the thigh, the centre of the knee, as well as the centre of the ankle joint.
4. The *Kakṣha Sutra* drawn from the armpit by the side of the hip, the calf and its termination and by the fifth toe of the leg.
5. The *Bāhu Sutra* (shoulder plumb-line) drawn from the centre of the side of the left arm by the end of it and outside the palm.

The South Indian sculptors mention in addition a *Lamba Sutra* also called *Nata Sutra* which is the line of elevation, the general rule for which is laid down in the followning corrupt verse and is illustrated by a diagram (figure 6).

"Sat-pancha-netram swayba (?) kalāngsam
Hikke-Satāngsam-hridoyancha-Yugmam
Nāsā-nunāvi-samameba-kuryāt
Urur-Dwayāngsam-Janghāsta vāgā
Beronnatam Chaturbingsa-satena."

Taking the length of the *Nata Sutra* as 124, the distance of the forehead and eyes should be 6 and 5 parts respectively. The Sutra shall touch the nose and navel in the same line. The distance from the neck should be six parts and from the heart two parts. The thighs and the shanks should be two parts and eight parts distant from the line respectively.

The three horizontal lines in very common use also illustrated in the diagram (figure 1) are the *Hikkā Sutra*, *Vadra Sutra* and the *Kati Sutra*. *Sutra* literally means a thread-line.

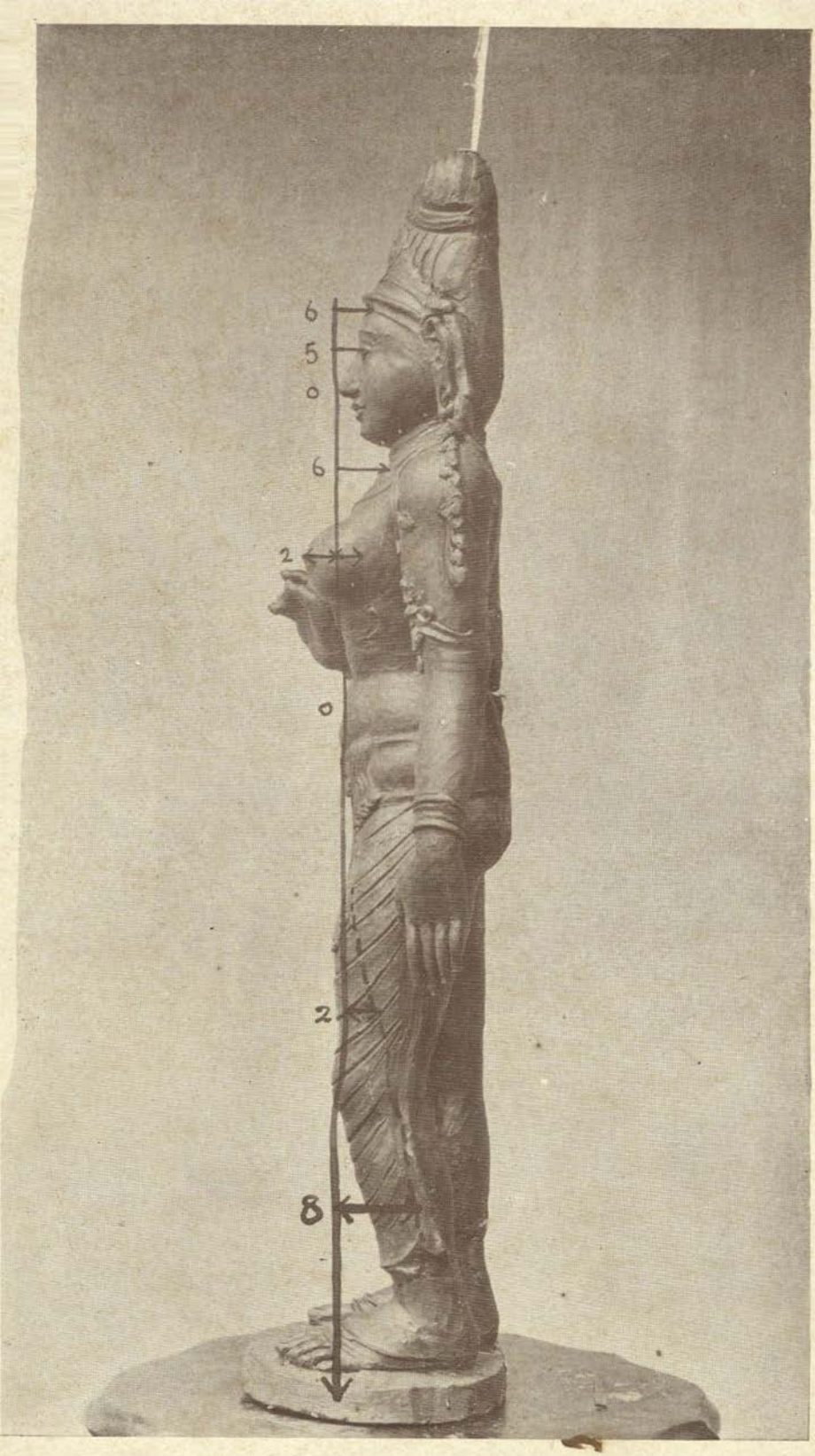


Fig. 6.

The five dimensions enumerated in the manuscripts are as follows :— The five dimensions.

" Mānantu pratimāyamam pramānam vistaram-tathā
Unmānuntu-ghanam proktam, parimāncha nāhakam
Antaram-chopamānāni-lamba mānancha Sutrakam "

(1) *Māna* is the proportion laid down for each particular measure; *e.g.*, the ninth tāla, the tenth tāla and so on.

(2) *Pramāna* is the breadth or the horizontal extension of the image.

(3) *Unmāna* represents the height or depth of the image.

(4) *Parimāna* is the measure of the circumference of any part of the image.

(5) *Upamana* is the relative measure of the different parts of the body from each other or from the *Bramha Sutra*, the line of axis.

(6) *Lamba māna* is the measure for the surface elevation of the different parts of the image (?).

Certain general rules are laid down for each dimension in each class of measure. Thus in the *Uttam-nava-tāla*-measure the *pramana* or breadth of the different parts of the image is as follows :—

Face, one tālam (*vide* figure 1) ; the breast one and half tālam ; the waist one tālam ; the loin one and half tālam ; the thighs two tālam ; the lower legs at the knees one and half tālam ; the spread of the arms, outer extremities two and half tālam ; the feet one-third of a tālam each.

The principal *Upamāna* measures are stated thus :—

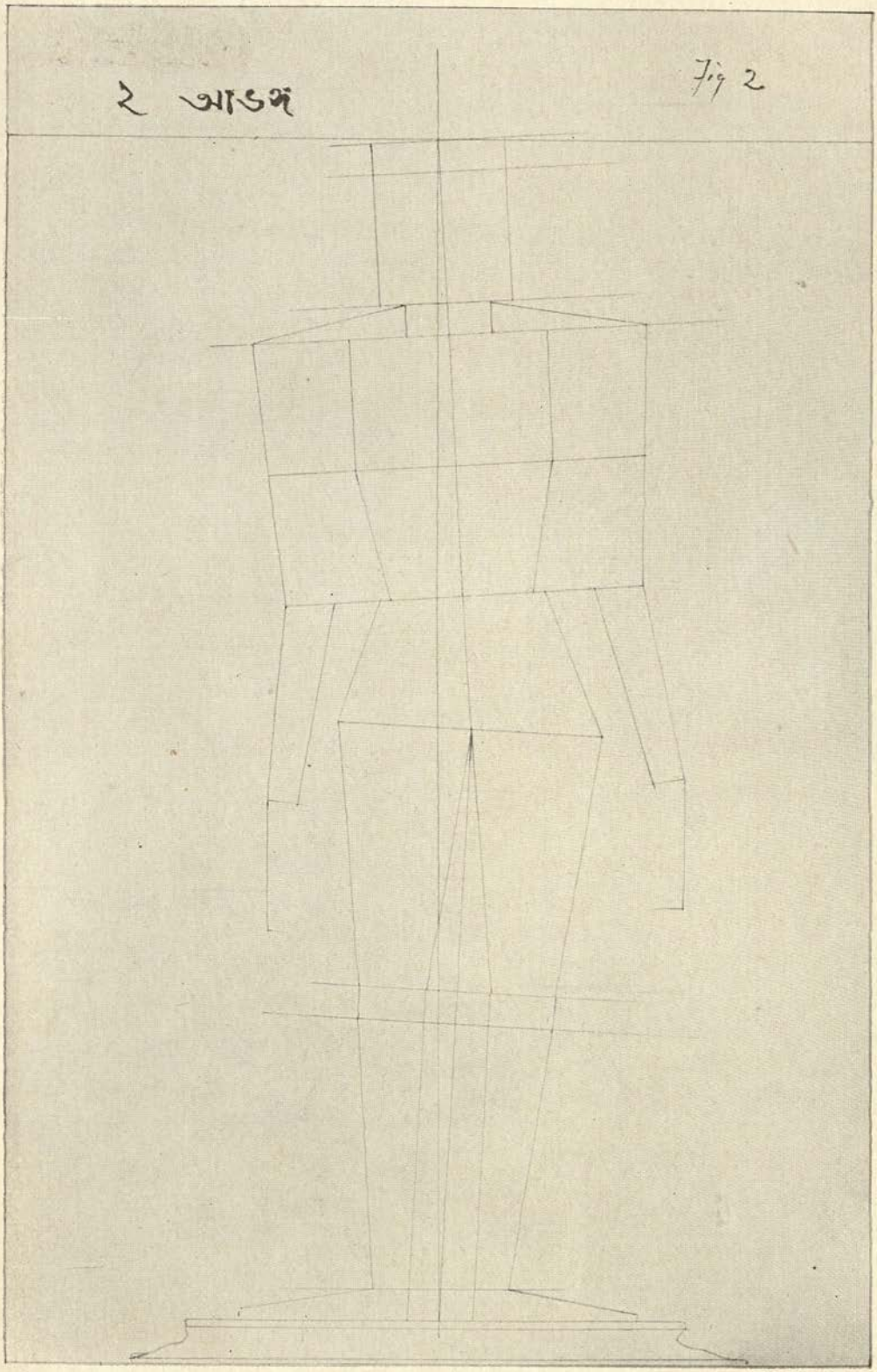
The distance between the *anāmikā* (second finger) to the shoulder in case of upraised hands should be 10 angulas or mātrās. The space between the loin and the elbow should be two angulas. The space between the thigh and the middle finger of the hand hanging down as in figure (?) should be seven angulas. The space between the two ankles is 4 angulās, that between the toes being 16 angulas. This will vary in the different poses as we shall find. The *Parimāna* measures are : the head, three tālam in circumference ; the arms at the joint, two tālam each ; the hands at the wrist, 12 angulas each ; the circumference of the breast is five tālam—one and half tālam in front, one and half tālam at the back and one tālam each on the sides. The waist is four tālam. The *Unmāna* or the actual height of the image varies according to the

size of the shrine, the height of the *garvagriha* (inner shrine) and the height of the doorway for which special proportions are laid down in the works dealing with the construction of temples.

The Three poses.

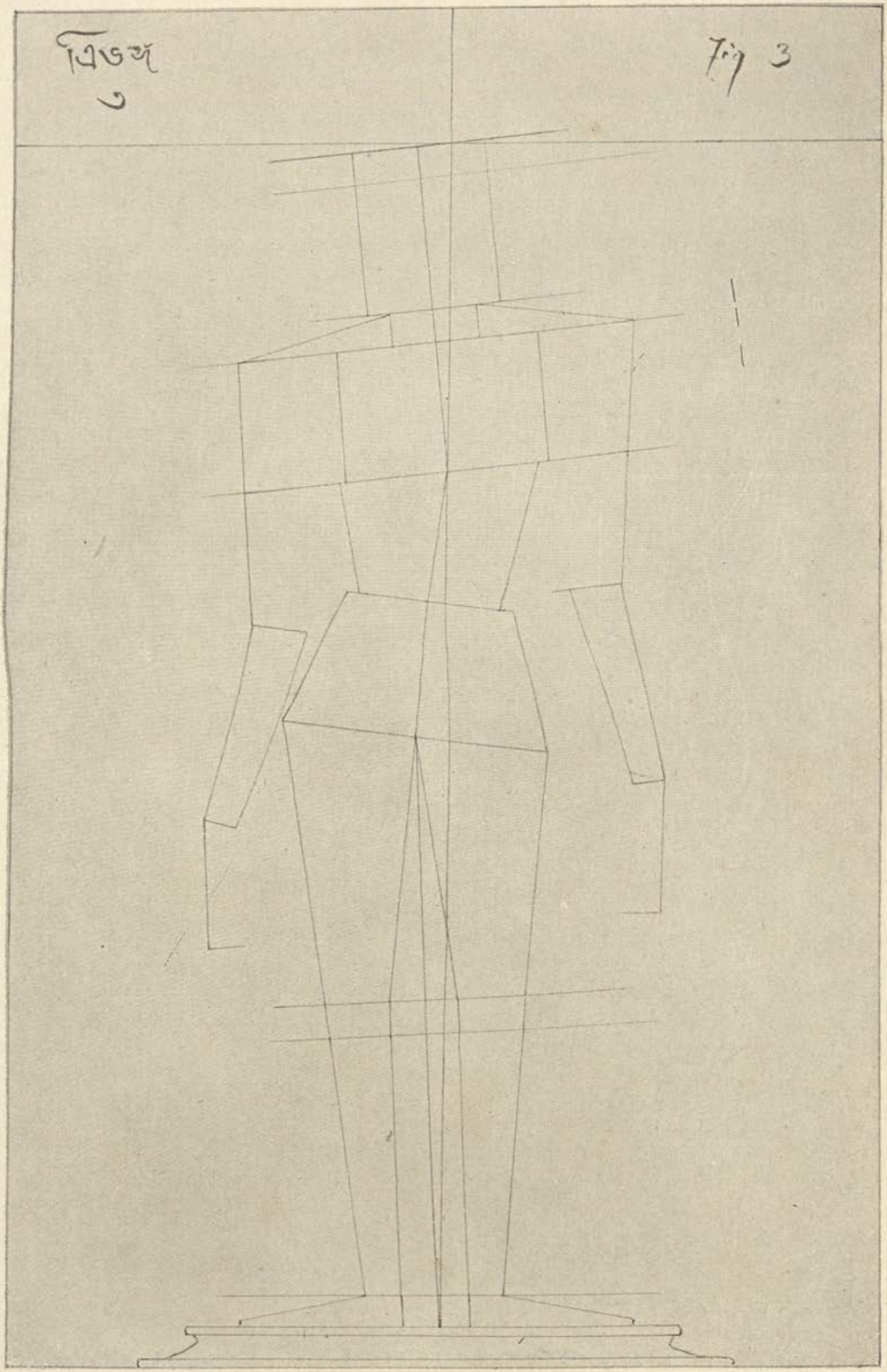
The poses and the inclinations of the figures are the peculiar characteristics of the South Indian images and require some elucidation. The easy pose and the exquisite balance of some of these images, so very remarkable in their æsthetic quality, are based on certain rules as to the bent and disposition of the trunk and the legs laid down in the sculptors' hand-books. Although these rules are very ancient they were possibly deduced from the works of some master-sculptors of old and systematized for the use of later pupils. These rules have unfortunately in some cases been worked to death and have given rise in later times to a stiff pose extremely conventionalised with the result that the original graceful conceptions of the poses have degenerated into mannerisms. This will be apparent by comparison of the figures illustrated in plates (XVI, XVII, & I) with those in plates (XXI, XV & XVIII). The well known *trivanga* or *trivanka* pose of the images in North India is very familiar to all students of Indian sculpture from the figures of Krishna and also from various statues at Konarak, Bhubaneswara and Puri. The *trivanga* has however no place in the South Indian manuscripts although many of the *dhyānmantras* of the various Saivite images suggest that they should be constructed with the *trivanga* flexion. A form of the *Sakti* of Siva is specially known as *Trivangi Devi.* Instead of the *trivanga* we find three distinct poses prescribed in the text of the *Silpa Sastras* *Āvanga*—('Little bent') *Sama Vanga* (equally bent) and *Ati Vanga* ('—greatly bent'). The last-named pose seems to be a variation of the *trivanga* of the northern sculptors. The different poses are based on deviations of the torso and the waist from the medial-line, which is called with reference to the three poses the *sama pāda sutra* being the line which equally divides the body of the figure when it is straight and erect and without any bend as in plate XVIII.

The modern practising sculptors however have generally forgotten the practice of these three poses and although I read to many of them the original text from *Kāsyapiya,* and the *Āgastiya* giving the exact plumb-lines with reference to the three *vangas,* they were unable to illustrate the rules by a diagram. The only poses which are familiar to them are the *Sama vanga* and *Trivanga* the last of which


૨ આકૃતિ
Fig 2

চিত্র ৩

Fig 3



is not even mentioned in many of the South Indian texts. The diagrams given by Guruswamy Sthapathy are illustrated in figures (2 A & 2 B). I have been unable to prepare any diagram for the other poses which may be recognised in some of the illustrations given in the plates.

In the *lakhana* or precipé given for some of the images one or other of these poses are recommended and the variations of the plumb-lines are given in respect of each pose. Thus one text says that in case of images of Tripurāntaka (a form of Siva) the *ativanga* pose is the best.

> " Uttamam cāti-vangam syāt
> Sama-vangam-tu madhyamam
> Āvangam madhyamam khyātam.
> Tripurāntaka murtinām."

Accordingly we find the images of *Kālahā* murti and other similar images conveying cognate idea and conception are posed in the *ativanga* attitude.

The *sutra* (the plumb-line) indicating the deviations for each of these poses varies according to the form of different images, so that the rule for one is not applicable to others. Thus it has become difficult to verify a particular rule without referring to an actual example of the image for which it is prescribed. The available portions of the existing manuscripts do not contain the particular rules for the poses of many of the examples here illustrated.

The *samavanga* pose is very well illustrated in the figures in plates (XVII, XXV & LIII). The wonderful static quality of such figures as Kārtikeya, and Chandrasekhara owes its beauty to the *samavanga* pose which was probably devised to symbolise tranquillity and repose. The examples of the *āvanga pose* will be found in plates (XV, XVI, XXXIII and the frontispiece). The difference in the attitude of the two legs suggested in the *āvanga* pose recalls the attitude of the Greek Diadumenos which was invariably conceived as resting its weight on one leg (*uno crure insistere*). The text of the *Kāsyapiya* runs thus :—" *dakhinam susthitam pādam bāma pādancha kunchitam,*" i.e., the right leg is upright and the left leg is drawn up or bent. One of the differences between the *samavanga* and *āvanga* poses is indicated in the relative distances of the toes in the two attitudes, laid down in *Kāsyapiya* : " *Pādāngusta dwayāshaibam byantaram (?) Sodasāngulam āvangam tad-bijaniyāt* .. .. *astāngulam dasanchaiba samabhangamiti smritam* .. .. .. *binsatyangula-mākhyātamatibhanga—mitismritam.*" In the

case of *āvanga*, the distance between the toes should be 16 angulas, in *samavanga* 18 angulas and in *atibhanga* 20 angulas. "*Tad-trivagaikantu vāgantu pārshno stu dwantaram bhabet.*" The relative distance between the ankles in each pose shall be one-third of the distance between the toes, *i.e.*, $5\frac{1}{3}$ angulas, 6 angulas and $6\frac{2}{3}$ angulas respectively. In such violent actions of the *ativanga* pose as illustrated in the *Natarāja* and the *Gajahāmurti*, this rule does not seem to apply. The plumb-line of the *āvanga* pose is thus enunciated:—

"Murdhni-pārse-bāma-netre-bāma-pute' dhare
Hanou-sabya-stanou-pārse-nāvescha-dakhine
Pādoru-pārse-bāmānghri-pārshni-pārse-pralam-bayet."

Suspend the line from the side of the head passing near the left eye, left part of the nose and the left lips, left of the chin, passing near the breast, to the right side of the navel, near the thigh, and coming to the left side of the left ankle of the foot.

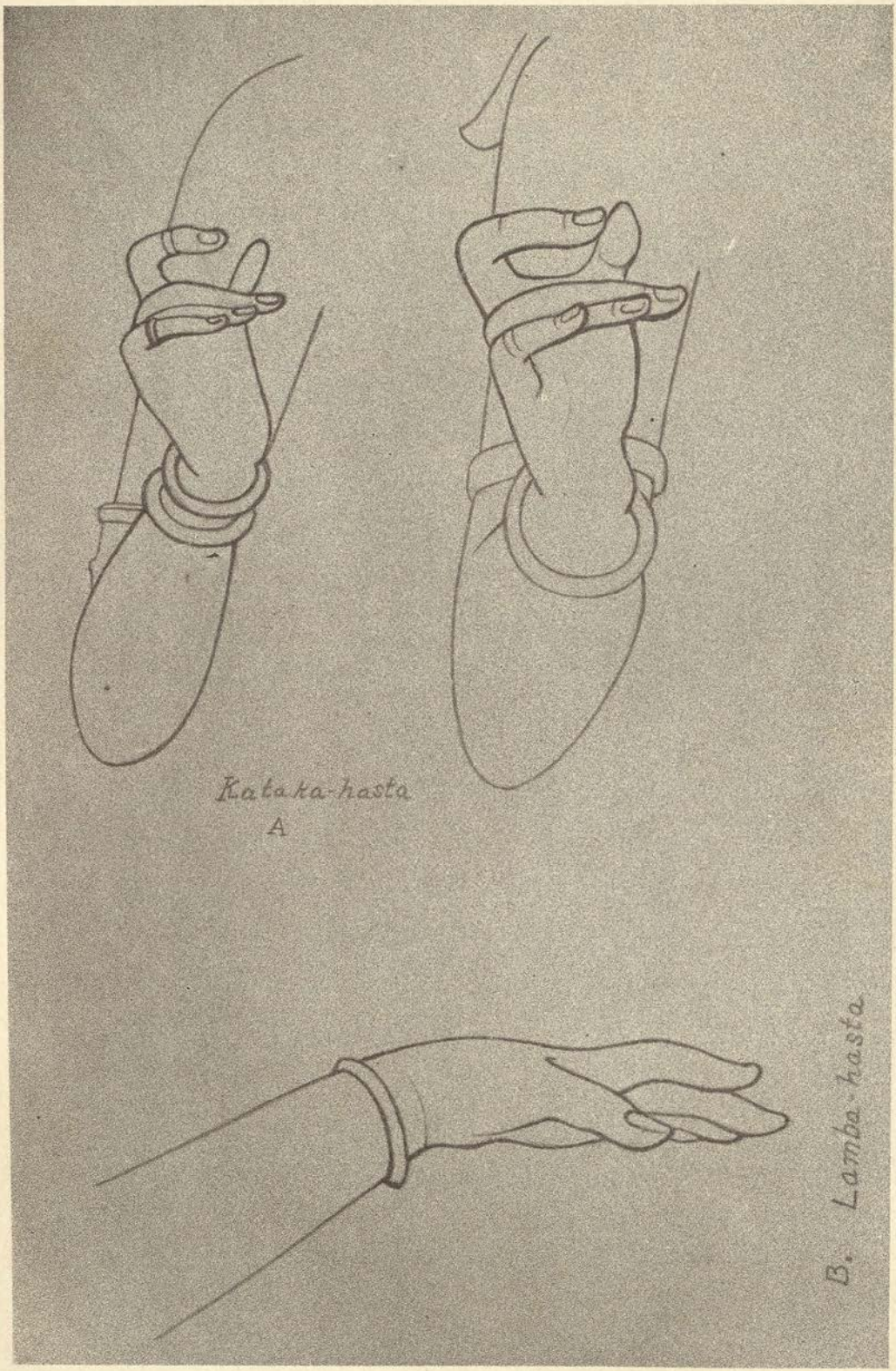
This is hardly a general rule and varies according to the nature of the particular image but seems to be the same as laid down in *Kāsyapiya*:—

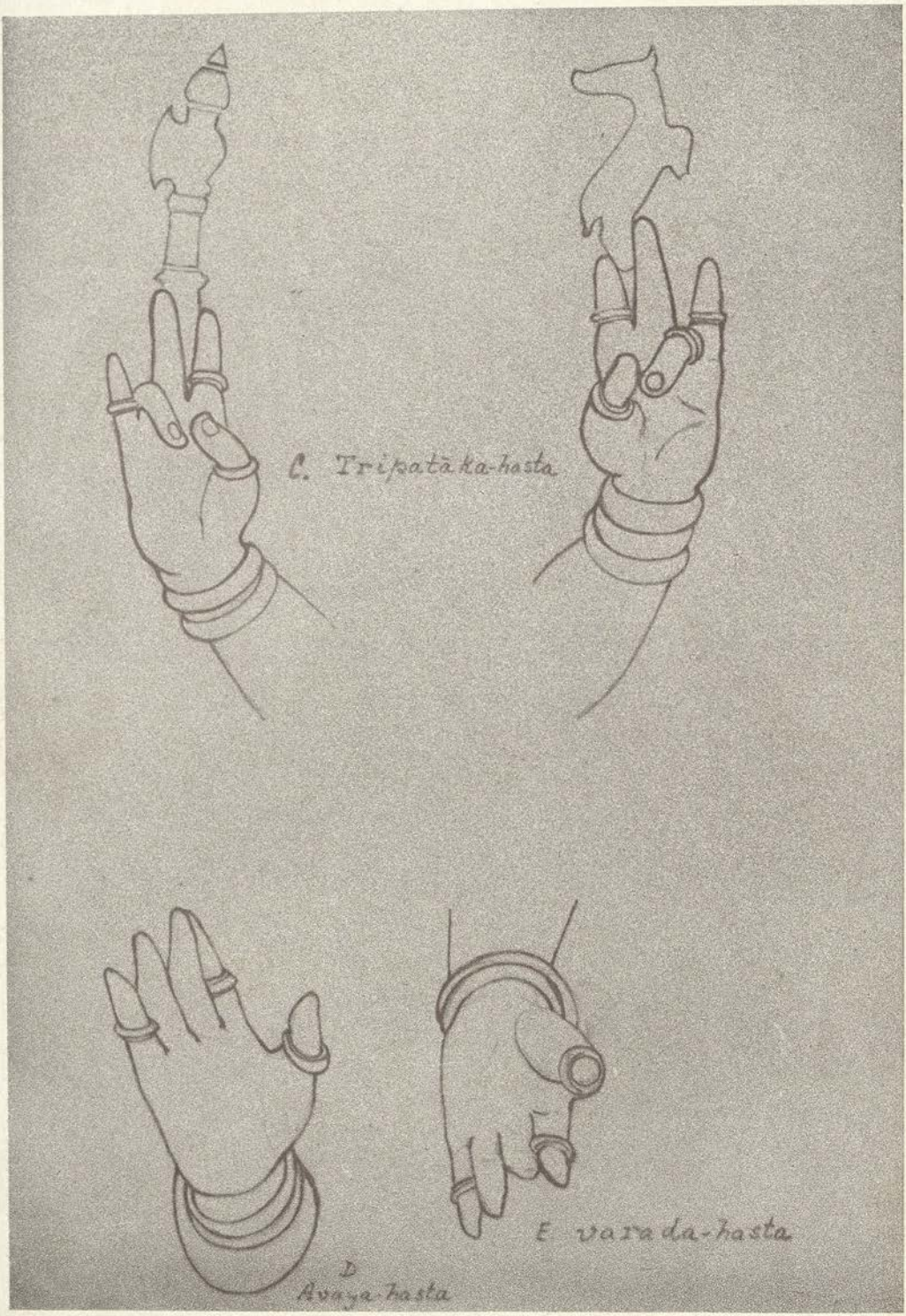
"Ushnishāt-bāma-pārsetu netrānte-tat-putāntake
Hanor-bāme-samālambya-ashnosha-stana-bāmake
Nāver-dakhina-pārsetu-bāmoru-stasya-pārsake
Dakhinānghri-tat-pārsnoshcha-bām-pārsetu lambayet."

The peculiar gestures suggested by these *vangas* or inflexions of the body form a special characteristic of South Indian sculpture and remind one of the 'sway' of the figures of some of the mediæval Madonnas. The graciousness of the pose of the figures in Plates (I, XV, XVI) lends a vitality to the conceptions and a peculiar artistic values to this school of sculpture. There is nothing perhaps, in Indian sculpture, excepting a few examples of the Nepalese Buddhist figures, which could approach the South Indian bronze figures in the easy grace of their peculiar gestures.

The 'finger plays.'

The poses of the arms and fingers constitute another artistic peculiarity of this class of figures which further distinguish them from the images of Northern India. In the movements of the arms and fingers the Indian artist has devised a "highly formalized and cultivated gesture language" which has been the medium of expressing the attitude of the mind. They have been used by the South Indian artist as effectively as the gestures of the body,

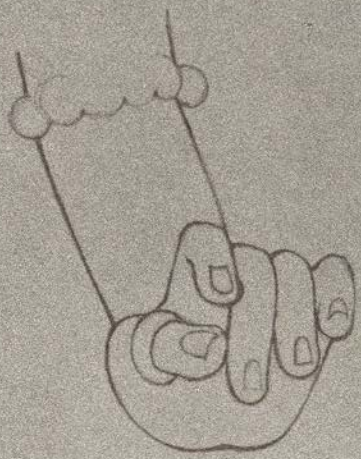

Kataka-hasta
A
B. Lamba-hasta


C. Tripataka-hasta
D
Avaya-hasta
E varada-hasta

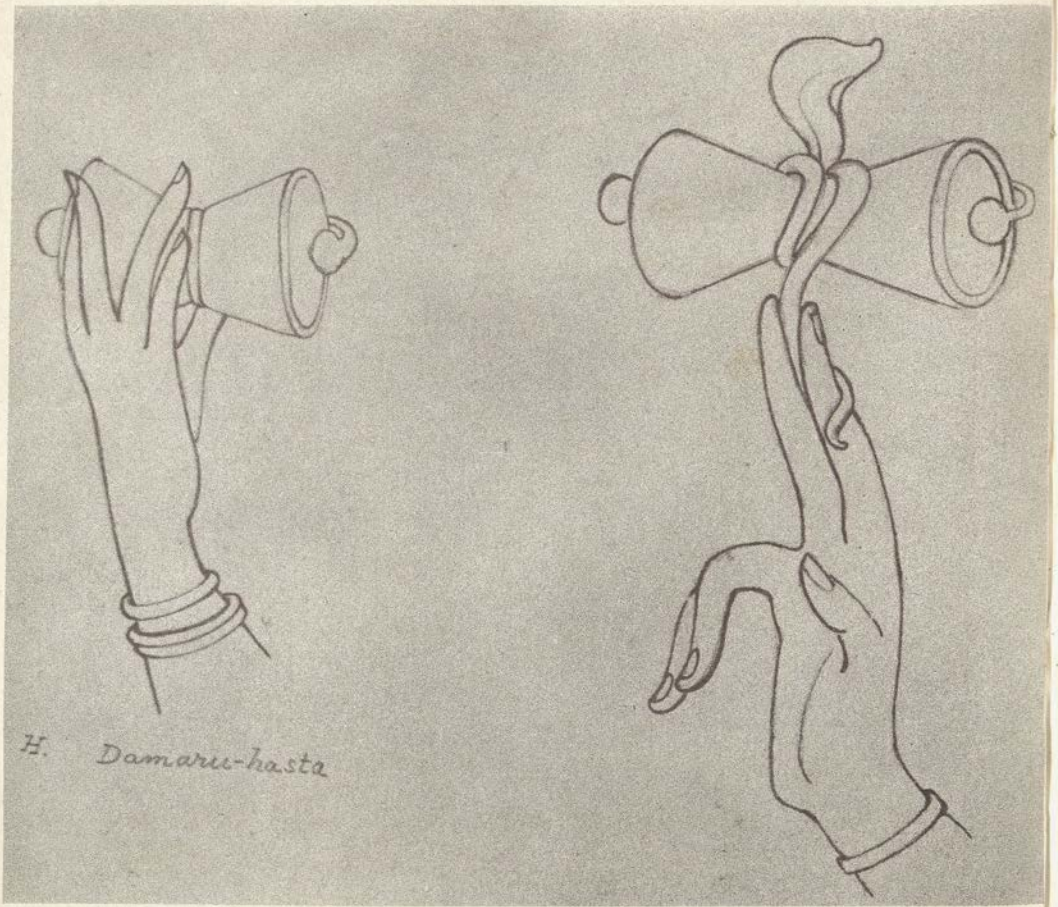
F. Suchi-hasta

Kataka-hasta

G



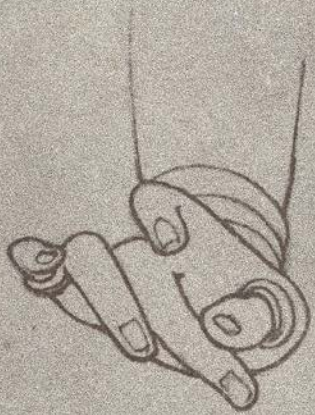
Kataka-hasta



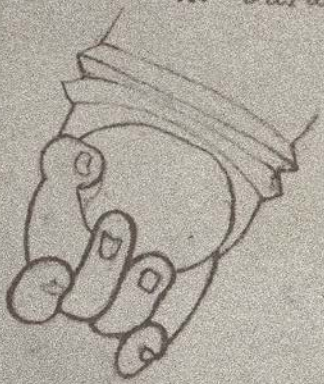
H. Damaru-hasta

I. Kataka-hasta

J. Lola-hasta

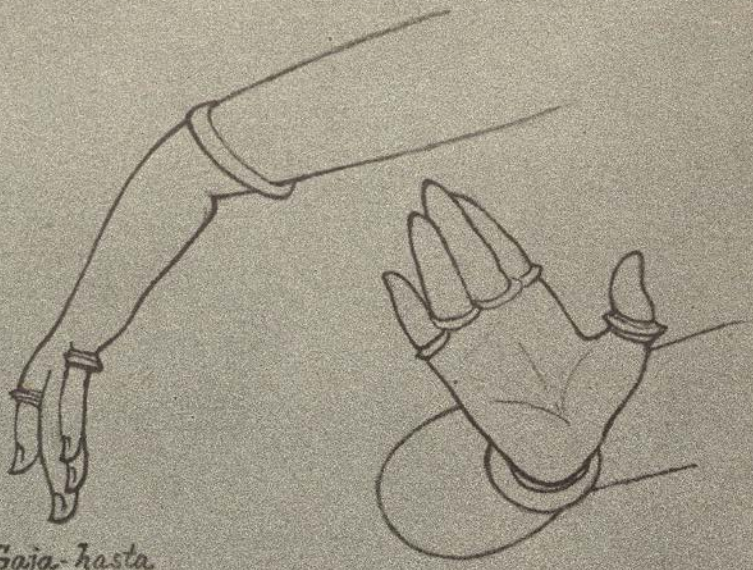


K. Varada-hasta



L. Galina-hasta ?

M. Kartari-hasta ?



N. Gaja-hasta

O. Patāka-hasta
[Avaya-mudra]

P. Andha-chandra hasta

in conveying by values of movements, ecstatic raptures and spiritual moods. Some of these gestures, attitudes and movements must seem to the Western mind as 'artificial' or unnatural. But devised, as they were, as suggestive of a super-human, divine personality, they have been very properly conceived in a manner antagonistic to the poses and gestures natural to man under the sway of human feelings and actions. They have been devised as exquisite artifices for suggesting, as it were, *a refinement of external action* corresponding to *a refinement of feeling*. When an Indian divine image holds in its hand a trident or a *discus* it does not gripe the weapon clumsily as the Greek Zeus from Hungary (in the British Museum), it playfully poises the *āyudha* between its two fingers, the other fingers hanging out in graceful angles (*see* diagrams C. S. & V.). Some of these gestures apart from their significance and symbolism are wonderfully articulate with a grace and a tenderness which is truly spiritual and non-human. These movements have been characteristically called by Sukrācharya, as '*dibya-kriyā*' or 'divine actions' and they must be distinguished in their conventions from the movement and gestures of the ordinary human being. For it is by means of these departures and variations from 'natural poses' that the non-human form could possibly be rendered in terms of the human shape. As Dr. Coomaraswamy has pointed out, "the more human in expression, the less does Hindu sculpture approach its own perfection." At any rate these gestures and *mudrās* (finger-poses) have afforded to the Indian sculptor rich *motifs* of vital æsthetic quality. "If any power in Indian art is really unique, it is its marvellous representation of movement—for here in the movement of limb is given the swiftness and necessity of the impelling thought itself much more than a history of action subsequent to thought.[1]"

Of these actions of the hands and 'finger plays' there are some typical poses common to all the schools of Indian Sculpture while there are some which specially appertain to local schools.[2] Of those met with in the Saivaite bronze figures a few have been borrowed from the language of the dance-gestures laid down in the *nātya sāstra*, while the rest seem to have been designed by the

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1 Dr. A. K. Coomaraswamy "*The Arts and Crafts of India and Ceylon*," p. 31.

2 Some very characteristic poses have been illustrated in Dr. Coomaraswamy's paper "Hands and Feet in Indian Art" *Burlington Magazine*, January 1914, and in Mr. Samarendra Gupta's article "With the five Fingers" in the *Modern Review*, Calcutta, August 1912.

artists themselves. The poses specially devised by the South Indian sculptors are illustrated in diagrams A, B, H, J, K, N, T, V and Z.

Of the gestures of the hand the South Indian texts mention the following which are peculiar to South Indian images :—

(1) '*Lol-hasta,*' also called "*Lambahasta,*" lit., 'the hand hanging down,' is illustrated in diagrams B, J and Z. The left arm of the female figures in South Indian art is invariably 'the *Lol-hasta*'; (2) '*Nidrita-hasta*' or the 'sleeping hand' is exemplified in diagram Y and (3) *Kati-hasta* (Katyālambita-hasta) or 'the hand touching the hip' occurs in plate XLIII and (fig. 9); (4) *Dhanurdhāri-hasta,*' the hand holding the bow' is generally found in figures of Rāma, Arjuna and sometimes of Siva, *e.g.*, in plates LXXI, C, and LXX. This attitude is likely to be confused with (5) '*Ālingana-hasta,*' the embracing hand which is typically illustrated in the image of Gangādhar (plate XIV); (6) *Gaja-hasta* is the hand resembling the proboscis of the elephant (*vide* figures of Natarāja and diagram N).

The other poses are based rather on *mudrās* or the actions of the fingers than on the movements of the arm itself, the most important of which are known as follows :—

(1) *Kataka hasta* is thus defined in *Kāsyapiya, (sukhāsanapatal).* "Tarjjanyadi-Kanisthāntam-tatra-mulastu (?) bakrayā Ishad-bakram-tandangustam-ebam-syāt-*katakā kriti.*"

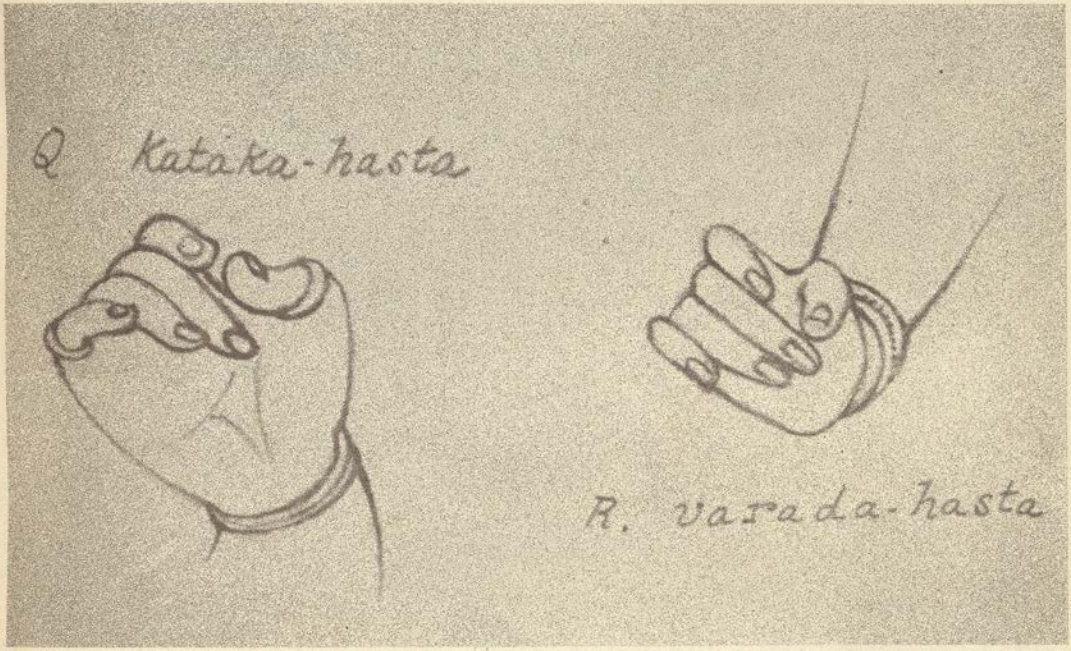
(2) *Sinha Karnahasta* is a modification of the *Kataka* and is thus defined "madhya-madhya tālantantu-ardha madhyantanāmika bakra-seshāngulam-prākbad *Sinha Karna* midam param" (*vide* diagrams S and X).

The *Kataka hasta* will be recognised in plate (XXXIII and in diagrams A, Q & I) and the *Sinha Karna* in plate (XXXIV). The *Kataka hasta* has several variations which are illustrated in the accompanying diagrams (A, G, I, Q, U and W).

(3) *Kartari hasta* seems to be identical with the Tri-patāka *Kartari mukha* of the Bharata *nātya sāstra* (9 ch., 67 sloka) and is illustrated in the attitude of the hand in plate (XV and in diagrams C, M & V).

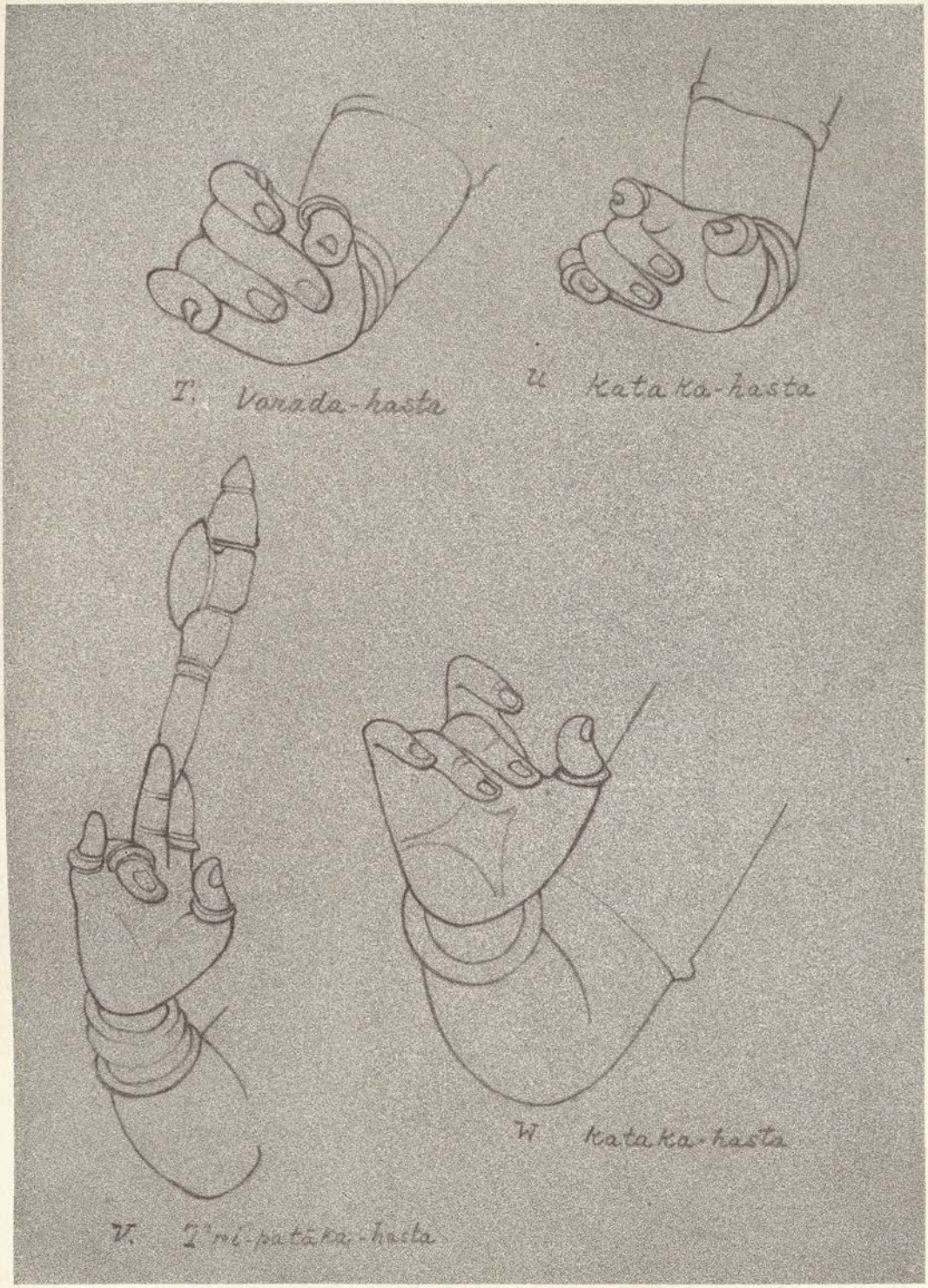
(4) *Patāka hasta* is thus defined in *nātya sastra* (ch. 9, sloka 17).

"*Prasāritā-samā-sarbā-jasyangulyo-vabantihi-kunchitascha tathangusta-sa-patāka-iti-smrita.*" Where all the fingers

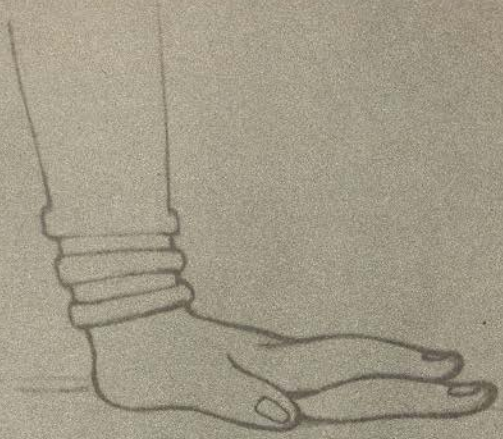

Q Kataka-hasta
R. varada-hasta

Sinha karna-hasta

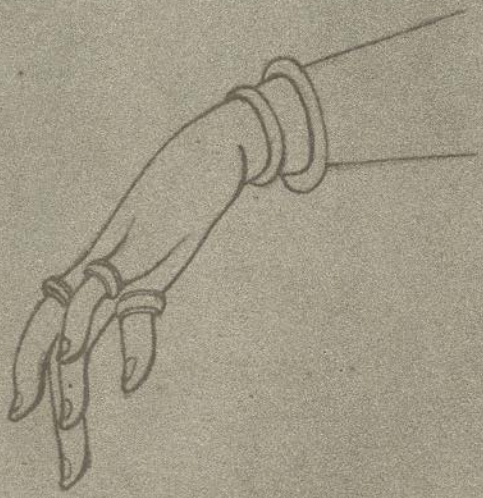
Sinha-karna-hasta


T. Vanada-hasta
U. Kataka-hasta
V. Tri-pataka-hasta
W kataka-hasta

X Sinha Karna-hasta



Y. Nidrita-hasta



Z. Lola-hasta

spread out together, the thumb being curled up, it is known as *Patāka* (*vide* diagram O).

(5) *Tripatāka hasta* is the variation of the *patāka* with the third finger folded down as in the figure of Siva in plate XV.

The text of Bharata is as follows :—" *Patāke-tu-jadā-bakranāmikā - twangulir - bhabet-tripatāka-sa-bigneyā - karma chāsya-nibodhata-ābāhanamabataram bisarjanam-dhāranam-prabesascha* " (sloka 16-17, ch. 9). One of the functions or uses of the *tripatāka* hand is *dhāranam* or to carry any object, the other suggestions being ' invitation,' ' throwing down ' and ' entrance.'

(6) *Suchi hasta* illustrated in the lower right hand of the figure in plate XXI (*vide* diagram F) is mentioned in *nātya sastra* as *Suchāsya* or *Suchi mukha hasta* the needle-pointed hand.

(7) *Ardha chandra hasta* is delineated in the upper left hand carrying the fire in the figures of Natarāja (diagram P) and is thus defined " *Jasyāngulyastu-binata-sahangusthena chāpabat-so 'rdha chandra-iti-khyāta,*" *i.e.*, when the fingers along with the thumb open up in the shape of a bow it is known as the *ardha chandra* (half-moon).

(8) *Gyāna hasta* or Gyan mudra does not seem to be the same as known in Buddhist sculpture and is given as the attribute of the *Dakhinā murti*. The text expounding the attitude is not available.

Of the well-known *barada* (gift-bestowing) and the *abhaya* (re-assuring) attitudes, the *barada hasta* has a special form in South Indian sculpture typically represented in the lower right hand of the figure of the Dancing Siva from Ceylon (plate XXIII and diagrams T & R).

Ornaments.

The other peculiarities of South Indian bronze images which remain to be considered are the characteristic ornaments and the decorative accessories of the figures. The most important of the decorative devices is the *Kati bandha*, the waist-band which is used for fastening the garment which has a buckle shaped like a dragon-head with festoons hanging down. This is known as the *arunón-mālai*. The festoons which hang on the thigh are known as *Urumālai*. Similar festoons hanging down the ear-ornament across the shoulders are known as *bāhu-mālai*. The *Kati bandha* was freely used in the preceding school of Buddhist sculpture as will appear from the Buddhist *Dwārpāla* from Anurādhapura, Ceylon (Figure 6A). The

ear-ornaments are as a rule very elaborately designed.[1] The *ratna-kodara bandham* (the jewel-band for the chest) also borrowed from Buddhist sculptures has become an indispensible accessory in all South Indian images and has developed into a distinctive characteristic of the southern school.

A small bell generally found tied on the right leg below the knee in Saivaite figures is also a peculiarity of South Indian bronze images (plate XXVIII).

The forms of the coronets and head-gears we meet with in the South Indian images have some characteristic features of their own. The principal forms are known as *Kiritam, Karanda mukuta, Jatā mukutam* and *jatā badham.*

The *Kiritam* is generally prescribed for Vaishnavite figures, the *Karanda mukuta* for female deities, and the *Jatā mukuta* for the various forms of Siva. The coiffure, *Jatā badham* is prescribed for Chandikeswara and saints. The *Karanda-mukuta* is thus defined in the text "*Mulā-chchāgram - Kramāt - Kshinam - Karanda-mukutasya-tu pad-masya-Mukutākāram-mukutāgram prokalpayet.*" The shape of the *Karanda mukuta* should be tapering from the base to the top, the finial being shaped like the crown of the lotus (Fig. 7). It is illustrated in figures (plates XXXIII & XXXVI). The *Kirita mukuta* will be found in figures (plates LXIII and LXVII). The *Jatā mukuta* is illustrated in figure 7 and also in the image of Chandrasekhara, Gangā-dhara and the Kāldahanamurti plates (XV, XIV and I).

The *Pravā-torana* or *pravā mandala* the 'halo' or the 'gateway of radiance' originally used for the ring of fire' in which Siva is represented as dancing his perennial dance, has now become a *sine qua non* for all South Indian figures. It is made of a separate piece of metal and is attached by the pegs of the lower ends of the arch into two sockets on the pedestal of the image. In the case of the Vaishnavite images the form of the flames are modified into other decorative devices as in the figure of Krishna in plate LX. Sometimes this decorative arch has a dragon-head as in the figure (in plate XLII) which has a marked affinity to the well-known architectural device known as the *Kirtimukha.*

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1 "*Dirgha-Karne-sapatrādhyam-Kuryāt-makara-kundalam* (Mānasāra, Ch. 58, Murti-lakhana-bidhanam) *i.e.* 'For the long ears should be made the Kundala (ear-ornament) known as the 'makara' (dragon) decorated with foliages."

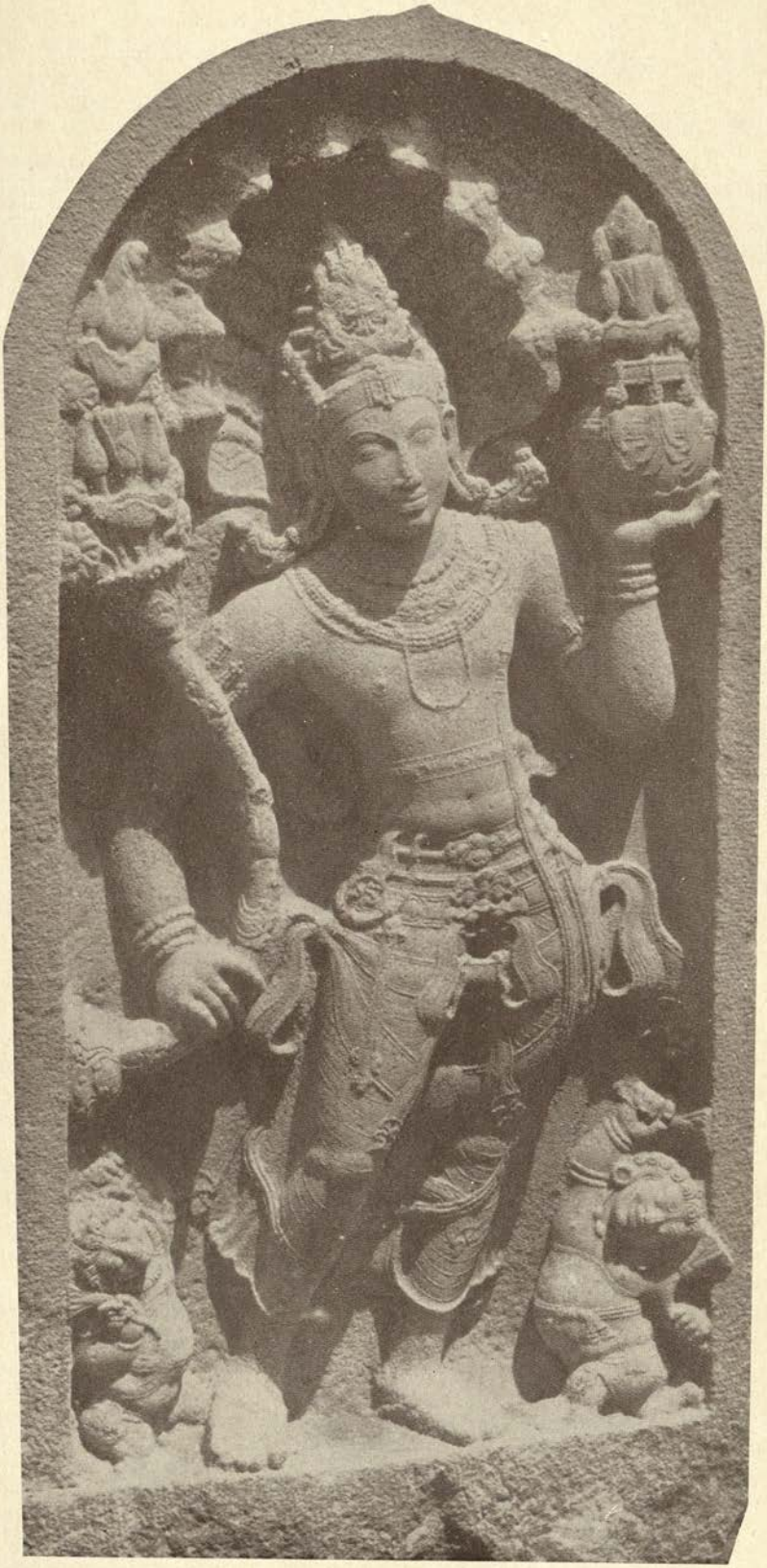

Fig. 6 A

Karanda mukuta

Jatā-mukuta

Fig 7

CHAPTER IV.

Chola Art and the earlier Saivaite Schools.

IN order to trace the history and evolution of Chola Art of which the bronzes the subject-matter of this volume, form such an interesting ramification, it will be necessary to consider the earlier forms of Saivaite art which preceded the advent of the Cholas and in what way the later school is related to the earlier ones. The existing examples of the older Saivaite sculpture, however, do not carry us back very far, as the history of Saivaism would lead one to believe. If it is assumed that the different conceptions of Siva as enumerated in the *Sakalādhikār* of Agastya and in the *Kāsyapiya* had taken definite sculptural forms and were practised in the South by the sculptors who lived about the time of these Aryan immigrants from the North it would be difficult to support such a hypothesis by evidence of actual specimens which could be attributed to the time about which Agastya or his followers could be said to have lived. Both the works of Agastya and Kasyapa give the iconography of various Saivaite images, the most important of which are Natarāja, Ardhanāriswara, Kālsanhāra, Tripurāntaka, Gangādhara, Virāteswara, Gajhāmurti, some of these conceptions being the special features of South Indian Saivaism. The worship of Siva as Natarāja, for example, is a special cult peculiar to South India. The innumerable shrines and images connected with its worship which are still existing there prove the pre-eminence and popularity of this form of Siva in the South. The bronze-workers in the employ of the Chola princes have devoted their best skill in casting the image of the "Dancing Lord," and from the numerous examples of this image made during the Chola supremacy one is led to suppose that its form and peculiar pose though based on and illustrating the original *dhyana mantra* of the Brahmin iconographer was originated by the Chola sculptors. As we shall presently find that such a supposition would be erroneous as the subject has been already treated by the artists of the earlier Saivaite schools.[1]

1 Many stone images of Natarāja have been found in Puri, Bengal (Gaud and Benares) and other places in North India but they are certainly of later date as compared with the images of the same found in the South.

One of the earliest available evidences of Saivaite sculpture is a reference in the third century A.D. by Poryphyry[1] to an image in a cave in the north of India which from the description corresponds to the form of *Ardha-Nāriswara*. The image of *Ardha-Nāriswara* has been found in many caves in the Deccan, all of which date after the sixth century A.D. The earliest literary evidence as to the existence of Saivaite images is perhaps the reference in Panini (4th Century B.C.) and the commentary of Patanjali (2nd Century B.C.). The earliest image of *Natarāja* or *Siva Tandaba* is found at Badami (Bombay Presidency) known formerly as Bātāpipura, the ancient capital of the Chālukyas.

The caves at Badami appear from epigraphical evidence to have been excavated about 578 A.D. The image, in question which has sixteen arms, occurs on the West wall of the entrance to Cave 1 (*vide* Figure 8). It is a fine piece of bas-relief consummately executed. The 'Katihastha' attitude (*vide* Figure 9) which has become a mannerism with the later Chola sculptors is first seen in the Badami caves.[2] Next to the Badami caves, the image of *Natarāja* is met with in the bas-reliefs in the Kailāshnāth temple at Conjivaram. This group of temples is one of the earliest examples of the architecture of the Pallavas and was probably constructed about 675 A.D., being later by about a century to the rock-cut temples at Mammallapuram where the Pallava sculpture of the period attained its perfection. The stone panels in the Kailāshnāth temple and the group of temples associated with it contain a very interesting series of representations from the principal legends of the Saivaite mythology many of which have furnished types for the later school of sculpture under the Cholas. As Mr. Rea has justly observed the Pallava art merged into the Chola style in the 8th and 9th centuries; the period of transition is well indicated in the beautiful examples of Pallava sculpture at Trichinopoly (*vide* Fig. 158, Vincent Smith, History of *Fine Art in India and Ceylon*, p. 222). The relief, so beautiful in its dignity and restraint approaches in its spirit and treatment very nearly, the splendid figures of Siva which we find amongst Chola sculptures executed

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1 "*The Indian Travels of Apollonius of Tyana*" by Priaulx (1873), pp. 152 and 158.

2 Plate XX, figure 2, J. Burgess, Archæological Survey Report, Belgaum and Kaldagi Districts, 1874. Similar attitudes also occur in a bas-relief in one of the oldest Chaitya caves at Ajanta (No. 9), see "*Illustrations of the Rock-Cut Temples of India*," by Fergusson, 1864, page 8.

Fig. 8

Fig. 9

Fig. 9A

Fig. 10

Fig. 11

between the 9th and 13th centuries. In many of the four-armed figures of Siva at Mamallapuram, *e.g.*, those on the left niche of the Dharma-raja-Ratha (609-645 A.D.) we find the conceptions of the type of Saivaite figures which are undoubtedly the forerunners of many of the images of the Chola school.

Evolution of the image of Natarāja.

The ten-armed sculpture of Natarāja at the Brahminical[1] cave at Aihole (655-680 A.D.) formerly known as Aryapura comes earlier in order of time to that in the Kailāshnāth temple. At Aihole, the stone-relief of *Natarāja* (Fig. 9A) resembles the one at Badami in the pose of the two upraised arms holding up a serpent horizontally over the crown. This conception is evidently based on *dhyān mantras* different from the ones to which the South Indian sculptures owe their inspiration. There is a very interesting stone figure of Siva in one of the temples at Aihole (*vide* Fig. 5, Annual Report, Archæological Survey, 1907—1908, p. 202) which in its general conception and details of ornaments, clearly resembles the South Indian type as familiar to us in bronze images.

The next stronghold of Saivaism which attracts the student of Saivaite sculpture is the famous group of cave-temples at Ellora, the most important from the sculptor's point of view being the Dasābatār cave (650-750 A.D.) and the Lankeswara Cave (750-850 A.D.) Both these two caves last-named contain representations of Natarāja, the one in the Dasābatār cave is a particularly fine example (Fig. 12). The pose of the first left arm running across the breast which lends such power and vitality to the whole figure, is a peculiarity which we first meet with here, and has been followed in all South Indian conceptions of the 'Dancing Lord'. There is another conception of the Dancing Lord which is met with in South India but which has no counterpart in metal images. This is known as the *Urdha Tāndaba* (dancing with the leg upward) and is formed sometimes with 4 and sometimes with 16 arms. The most well known example is the one at Tirumala Nayak's choultry.[2] Two less known examples are illustrated here (Figures 10 and 11). The first one is perhaps earlier in date and was found in the Siva temple at Tirupunanthal, Tanjore District. The other figure (No. 11) occurs in Kailasnath temple at Tārāmangalm in the District of Salem. They deserve to be noticed on account

[1] *Vide* Annual Report, Archæological Survey in India, 1907-1908.
[2] Other examples occur in many temples in Tanjore and at Avadaiyar kovil.

of their iconographical peculiarity rather than their artistic merit. The treatment of the figure which is in stone has a close affinity to metal images. The next important schools of Saiva sculpture are represented by the two interesting groups at Elephanta (8th century) and at Bhubaneswara (12th and 13th centuries). They are widely different in their style and treatment from each other and though related to the earlier style which we find at Ellora they have developed qualities and characteristics which clearly differentiate them from the central schools in the Deccan and the South. So that the sculptures in the caves of Elephanta and in the temples at Bhubaneswara and those executed during the Chola ascendency in the South represent three distinct schools ; the last-named in its importance and its sustained activity which has survived up to the present century is of special interest, inasmuch as the schools represented by the Elephanta and Bhubaneswara temples have not exercised much influence on later art and have long ago become extinct. Indeed the art represented at Elephanta seemed to be a sporadic and isolated outburst not sustained or followed for any length of time, as was the case with the Saivaite sculptures which we meet with in the group of temples at Bhubaneswara.

Artists in different mediums.

The School of the South Indian Bronzes with which we are specially concerned here invites comparison with the contemporary stone sculptures in the South which were produced practically under the same influence and conditions and for the same purpose of illustrating the Saivaite mythology. Indeed the same artists sometimes cast the bronze images who chiselled the stone panels in the niches of the temple. The number of accomplishments of a master-craftsman are enumerated as ten, in some of the manuscripts—

"Dāru-ishta-silā-lowha
Snehā-mrit-ghat-sarkarā
Danta-yantra-kriyābhāsa
Silpinām dasadhā-kriyā."

The ten materials in which artists should work are wood, brick, stone, metal, lime, (stucco) plaster, sugar, ivory (teeth), yantra (?) and flat drawings as in paintings.

There are still a few living artists who work in more than one medium. But from very early times the South Indian Sthapatis generally specialised in one or other medium. With the increase of the demand for the

Utsaba Murtis which were so much in request by the Saiva devotees for votive offerings the makers of the bronze-image formed a group by themselves and specialised as sculptors in metals. The *Jātrās* or the procession of the *Rathas* (cars) also called into existence a skilful school of artists who chose wood as their material and were known as the *Ratha-Kārikās* 'the builders of the cars.'[1] They executed very fine pieces of wood sculpture which were used as decorations for these cars, some of which are master-pieces of their kind. We can even now find at Kumbakonam and at Trichinopoly a group of skilful wood-carvers who are still practising their hereditary crafts. The best and the oldest examples of these cars can be seen at Kumbakonam and Tanjore, some of the finest perhaps being among the group of old cars at Tirukala Kundrum in the district of Chingleput. The Archæological Survey Department, Madras Circle, has obtained photographs of some pieces of these carvings from an old car at Kumbakonam.[2]

Contemporary stone sculpture.

How the traditions of Pallava temple-sculpture were developed and perfected in a faultless and vital style will be apparent from the stone sculptures in the niches of the great Saiva temple at Gangaikonda-Cholapuram and also of Koranganadham temple at Srinivasnallur[3] in the district of Trichinopoly. They are the representatives of some of the best pieces that Chola artists have executed in stone and some of the details and the general character of the treatment of the figure invite comparison with some of the best sculptures of Java with which they seem to be artistically related. The temple at Gangaikonda, founded by Rajendra Chola Deva (1018-35) marks the culminating point of Chola activity in the religious art of South India which was initiated by Raja-Raja I (985-1013), the builder of the Brihadeswar temple at Tanjore. It must not be supposed that the stone sculpture of the Chola period consisted exclusively of decorative figures which formed part of the architecture of the temples. There are a series of stone images worshipped as presiding deities in many a small shrine both Saivaite and Vaishanavite, some of the earliest of the specimens being, the two figures of Bhairaba

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1 The *Rathakārikās* and the technique of their art and their position as an artistic caste are well indicated in, among other manuscripts, *Viswa-vidyavarana*, MSS No. 2680, V in the Library of the India Office. Their functions and duties are also set forth in an inscription of Kulottinga I (1070 to 1118). *Vide* Annual Report, Archæological Survey, 1908-09, p. 123.

2 Report of the Archæological Department, Southern Circle. 1911-12.

3 4 miles North-East of Kumbakonam.

64513

and Kāli near the shrine of Natarāja in the temple of Chidambaram. The sculptures of the temple at the Avadaiyar-kovil also constitute important examples which together with the other group of sculptures mentioned above afford specimens of the stone-carvers' art parallel to that of the bronze workers. It will be interesting to compare the stone image of Bhikkānatesar now plastered, from the Brihadeswara temple at Tanjore, (Figure 13) with the metal image representing the same subject in plate (XX). Some of the stone examples of the subject treated in metal show a disparity of technique and iconographic conception which it is difficult to account for as will be evident from a comparison of the stone bas-relief of the *Kāladahan Murti* found in Pattisvaram, Tanjore District (Fig. 14) with the splendid example in bronze illustrated in plate (I).

The art of the image-makers in metal possibly originated at the time when the custom of setting up the *Utsaba Murtis* was first initiated. Raja-Raja I is stated to have been the first to present to the temple of Brihadeswar the series of metal statues of Saivaite saints who, as we know, were canonized after their death and shared divine honours in the temples. The images of Manikka-vacagar and Sundara Murti (Plate XXX) and his wife Parvai (frontispiece) which we now find in a side corridor of this temple along with other Saivaite images must be some of the oldest specimens of their kind and anterior to all the other series of Saivaite saints which we find in many other temples in the South. We find from the metal images of Buddha discovered at Amaravati and other places that the art of the bronze-sculptor was practised throughout the Buddhist period and it must have been in existence during the earlier Hindu form of worship which prevailed in various parts of India before the advent of Buddhism.[1] It cannot be said, however, that the practice of installing *Utsaba Murtis* was first inaugurated by Raja-Raja I. As we shall find that the art of image-making in copper and other metals must have been older than the time of the Chola kings. The fact, that the " wax-process " is mentioned in some of the South Indian manuscripts which can not be later than the second century A.D., when the books of the Silpasastras are supposed to have been collected in their present form, shows that the practice of casting images

1 That the Hindu form of temple-worship was earlier than the Buddhist period has been very ably discussed in A. Govindacarya Svamin's paper on " Ramayana and Temples " Journal of the Bombay Branch of Royal Asiatic Society, No. 66, 1912.

Fig. 13

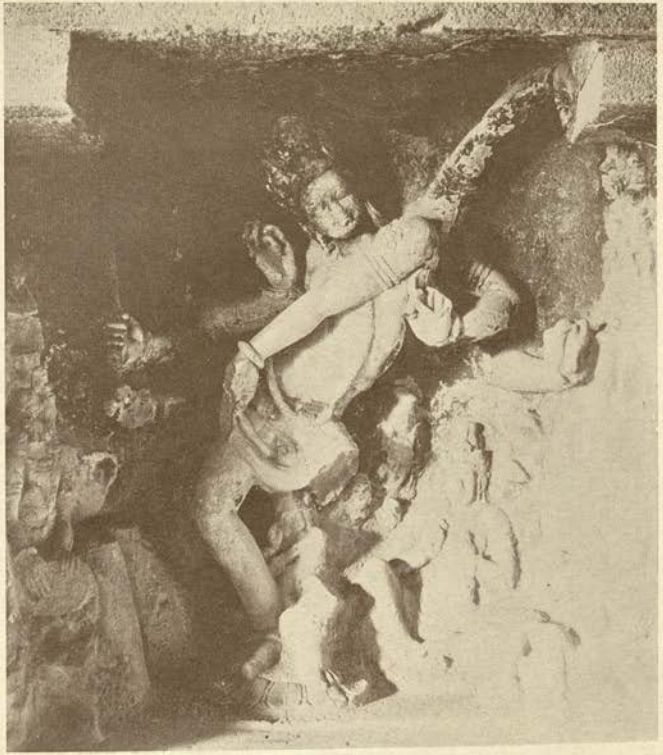

Fig. 12

Fig. 14

in metal must have been current in South India long before the advent of the Cholas. Next to the collection of bronze images in the Brihadeswar temple, the other important old collection of such images is found in the shrines on the south and west flanks of the rock-cut temple at Trichinopoly. If we go by the date of the excavation of this temple which is attributed to the Pallava King Mahendra Varman I at the beginning of the seventh century, the bronze images ought to be older by three centuries than those in the Tanjore temple collection. Some of the images in the rock-cut temple, however, are, in style and quality, comparatively modern and many of them can not be given any date earlier than those at Tanjore. Some of them, however, appear to be earlier than the Brihadeswar images, but it can not be stated definitely that they were set up by the Pallava King when the temple itself was constructed, *i.e.*, at the beginning of the seventh century. None of the inscriptions affords any reference to the Pallava Kings having set up any bronze images, although Narsinha Potavarman is credited with having set up stone images in Raj Sinheswara temple (Kailāsnath). Some *pancha louha* images of Subramanya and Somāskanda have been found in the Kailāsnath temple which is ascribed to the early part of the sixth century[1] (*vide* Plate LII "Pallava Architecture" by A. Rea, Madras, 1909). But they are evidently later than the Tanjore images and seem to belong to a period when the Chola princes lavished their bounty on the temples at Conjivaram. Some of the earlier Pallava Kings whose dates cannot now be definitely ascertained are associated with Saivaite art of the time previous to the Cholas.

The Pallavas and Saivaite Art.

From two cave inscriptions at the rock-temple of Trichinopoly we find that a Pallava King named Gunabhara constructed a temple of Siva on the top of the mountain and placed in it a linga and a statue of himself. He also caused a stone image of Siva to be established here. In the grant from Kuram a Pallava King Paramesvara Varmana is described as "constantly clever in the sport of the fine arts."[3] In the legendary account of the conquest of Kanchipuram, the Pallava capital, by Adondai Chola, amongst the trophies of the battle acquired by the latter a reference is made to a bronze gate of the Pural fort

[1] According to Dr. Hultzch this temple was founded about 550 A.D. South Indian inscriptions, Vol. I, p. 10.
[2] South Indian Inscriptions Vol. 1, 1890, pp. 29-30.
[3] *Ibid*, p. 153.

which shows that the Pallava artists were also workers in metal.[1]

The oldest example of Saivaite Bronze.

The oldest example of a South Indian bronze image that I have been able to discover (Plate II) is from the Rijk Ethnographisch Museum at Leiden. It was found in Java and although the exact locality where it was discoverd is not known, it affords every interesting comparison with the later Saivaite images similar in purpose and inspiration. In its style and pose, and the general archaic character it certainly points to a period much anterior (by at least two or three centuries) to the great school of copper sculpture which rose under the Cholas. It cannot possibly be attributed to Javanese artists as it is so different to any images and sculptures that have been found in Java. It therefore supports the tradition referred to by Dr. Vogel[2] and others that during the intercourse with Java and India many images were taken from the Indian continent. It was long after the Indian civilization had been engrafted in Java that the great Indo-Javanese School of Sculpture arose, the Buddhist school dating after 431 A.D. when Java was first converted to Buddhism. The figure undoubtedly belongs to the period of the earlier colonization of Java by India, which was a Hindu as distinguished from a Buddhist immigration. The Buddhist colony in Java was much later in date. According to a tradition recorded by Sir Thomas Stamford Raffles "the religion and arts of India were first introduced into Java by a Brahmin named Tritestra"[3] about 77 A.D. This is attributed according to a Chinese annal to A.D. 25-57.[4] According to Burnell this immigration suggests a connection with the kingdom of "the Pallavas than with any other part of India."[5] About the time when Vishnugopa Salibāhana reigned in Kānchipuram, a large colony is said to have emigrated from the coast of Telingana and settled in Java.[6] An inscription found there, belonging to about the fifth century A.D. is probably the work of this people." There is no doubt

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1 A Rea. *Pallava Architecture*, 1909, p. 3.

2 Dr. Vogel in the *Indian Antiquary*, March 1911, at p. 93, states: "I may note that in case of metal figures of a small size there exists always a possibility of their having been imported from the Indian Continent."

3 Thomas Stamford Raffles, *History of Java*, Vol. II, pp. 70, 72.

4 Vincent Smith, *A History of Fine Art in India*, pp. 260.

5 Burnell, *South Indian Paleography*, p. 131.

6 A. Rea, *Pallava Architecture*, p. 4, Cp. also Fergusson, *History of Indian Architecture*, Vol. II, p. 430 (Last Edition). "If Java got her Buddhism from Gujrat and the mouths of the Indus, she got her Hinduism from Telingana and the mouths of the Krishna."

Fig. 15

Fig. 16

that the style of the architecture of many of the temples of Java suggests kinship with the Pallava architecture at Kanchi and Mamallapuram. The earliest record of Saivaite worship in Java is found in the Sanskrit inscription of the Saka year 654 (A.D. 732) which attests the erection of a *lingam* by King Srinjaya, the son of Sannaha who calls himself ruler of the Isle of Java. The image in question may be assigned to the earliest period of Saivaite activity under the Pallavas which can be roughly dated at about the sixth century A.D. We reproduce here for the purpose of comparison two bronze images found in Java, one representing Siva (Figure 15) and the other Vishnu (Figure 16). The latter figure in the treatment of the dress and the decorations, festoons, and ornaments certainly suggests analogies with the South Indian School of Sculptures. The figure of Siva except in the manner of its head-dress (jatā mukuta) and the symbol of the bull at the foot of the pedestal, affords very little similarity with the South Indian type and probably represents a local Javanese style based originally on the prototypes introduced from India such as the image of Siva and Parvati referred to above (Plate II). That the practice of representing the *Vāhana* of an image by a miniature effigy of the same at the foot of the pedestal was a peculiarity of a group of South Indian Sculpture will be apparent from the bronze figure of Ganesa (South India) in the collection of the Musee Guimet (*vide Petit Guide*, 1910, page 70).

The Java image.

The *dhyāna mantra* from the text of *Kāsyapiya* which enables us to identify the image of Siva and Parvati from Java (Plate II) is as follows :—

Umā-Sahita-dhyānam :-

" Padmā-sthān-sukhāsanam-trinayanam-sandhistha-
Gouri-mukhāloka-smeramukham-jatāmukuta-juk-
khandendu-moulim-sitam,
Bāmālingita-bāmamanya-karoyo-stankang-mrigam-
bivratam,
Sesham-sabya karābhayaprada-mumājukatam-Mahe-
sam-bhajet."

—(*Kāsyapiya*).

TRANSLATION :

I adore Mahesha along with Uma, who is seated on the lotus-throne in the Sukhāsana (easy) pose, He having the *Jatā mukuta* (coronet of matted locks) with the crescent

moon on his white-head, casting blushing glances at the face of Gouri seated in conjunction with Him and embracing her by His left hand and by the others holding the axe and the deer the last right hand indicating the attitude of reassurance—' Fear not '.

This indentification would go to assign an earlier date to the literature of the South Indian image-makers. And we can reasonably conclude that the rules of the iconographer which we find recorded in the manuscripts, which are attributed to Kasyapa and others must have been formulated at least before the 2nd century A.D. Indeed the stone sculpture in the Kailāsnāth Temple would seem to indicate that the Saiva religion had long ago attained its theological maturity, a fact, which the books of the iconographer would seem to support. From the *Chillapp-āti-Kāram* (XIV, 7-10) which is attributed to about the 2nd century A.D. we find that " in all the great temples served by the Brahmins, in the Tamil country images of the four gods, Siva, Krishna, Balarāma and Muruga (Subramannya) were set up.[1] Most of these images inside the temple must have been of stone or metal. The references to " the image of gods and goddesses made of mortar " (stucco) noticed by Mr. Kanaka Sabhai Pillai must be taken to refer to the exterior decoration of the temples rather than to the presiding deities in the *garbagriha* (sanctum) of the shrine.[2]

I have been unable to find any images which could approximate the " Siva and Parvati " from Java in style or iconographical peculiarity. This image from Java has undoubtedly suggested patterns for the Vaishnavite sculptures such as the ' Lachmi Nārāyana ' in which Lachmi is depicted as seated on the thigh of Nārāyana, in a pose exactly similar to this image of Siva and Parvati. An example of such a bronze figure of ' Lachmi Nārāyana' has recently been acquired by the Government Art Gallery, Calcutta. This form of Siva and Parvati has been superceded by other conceptions (*vide* Plates XIX, XXVII & XXIX), the important one being that of " Somāskanda."

" Somāskanda " [Lit. (Siva) ' with Umā and Skanda ']. In most of the later images Parvati is delineated as seated at a little distance from Siva, but not on his thigh as in the Java image which is actually suggested by the word ' *Sandhistam* ' (attached) in the *dhyāna* quoted above.

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1 *Tamils Eighteen Hundred Years Ago*, page 231.
2 *Ibid*, page 129.

Assuming, therefore, that the Java image belongs to about the 6th century A.D. (a date to which, its archaic style and other considerations seem to point), there is a gulf of about four centuries which is void of any actual existing example of bronze images. For it is not until the reign of Raja-Raja I the great patron of Saivaite art that we can find actual examples of bronzes to which any definite date can be assigned. Probably further researches amongst the niches and corridors of the various old temples in the South would reveal older examples of bronzes which could be taken to mark the development of the style between the Java figure and the Brihadeswar images at Tanjore. The latter collection in their splendid technique and beauty of execution would seem to point to a long period of previous training and practice and indirectly to an earlier tradition of this class of sculpture of which the Java image is such an interesting example. Some of the earlier Chola Kings also built various Saiva and Vaishnava temples. Kocchennigannan who may be placed approximately about the second century A.D. is said to have built and dedicated seventy temples to Siva.[1] It is quite possible that under the patronage of these earlier kings the art of image-making should have been practised in response to the demand of these temples. In the peculiar form of the temple-worship with its main deity associated with a series of *Voga Murti* and *Utsaba Murtis*, as secondary images, the art of sculpture was freely patronised and developed hand in hand with the art of the temple-builders. At any rate, the existing specimens at our disposal show that from the tenth century to the end of the thirteenth century, the practice of image-making flourished very extensively along with the royal activities in temple-building, the most important of the later Chola builders being Kulottunga III also known as Tribhubaneswar who reigned about 1178 to 1215. To him we owe the beautiful temple of Tribhubaneswar at Tribhubanam now known as the Kampahareswar temple. Some of the bronze images in this temple are beautiful specimens of their kind and show that the high level of artistic skill, which the faith of the Saivaite devotee roused into activity during the reign of the earlier Cholas in the 8th, 9th and 10th centuries, was kept up so late as the thirteenth century. This was due, no doubt, to the fact that Saivaism

Leading Examples.

1 'The Chola Empire in South India' a paper read by S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, as President of the South Indian Association, Madras, p. 6.

was till then a living faith shared by the king and the people alike. Numerous images of later times have been found and are still coming to light year after year, during the explorations of the Government Epigraphists, and of the Archæological officers of the Madras circle, which go to show that many artistically important images were made throughout the period between the 14th century, the time of the close of the Chola influence, and the present time. Some of them are beautiful specimens of their kind though they belong to an age of decadence and are very far removed from the strength and fine technique of the earlier images, the most typical of which we find in the corridor of the Brihadeswar temple. Indeed this group of copper images must at present form the starting point of the study of the South Indian bronzes. Many of the old deserted temples in the districts of Tanjore and Trinchinopoly have yielded up their treasures and during the last few years most of the old images of these temples have been ransacked by dealers and curio-hunters and have passed into the hands of many European collectors, some having found their places in the Continental Museums, the most important specimens being in the collection of the Musèe Guimet, Paris, and in the Holland Museum. A curious archaic bronze figure discovered in Adichanallur in the district of Tinnevelly (figure 17) deserves notice by itself, although it cannot in any way be connected with the cult-images and the school of bronzes we have been considering here. The workmanship is very rude and suggests a primitive style. The tunic and the trousers in which the figure is dressed proclaim a foreign and non-Hindu subject. Another archaic figure (Plate LXX) recently acquired by the Madras Museum is of greater interest as it seems to be related to the Saivaite bronzes. There is some difficulty in identifying the figure. It has been suggested that it represents Venugopalaswamy. From the peculiarity of the head-dress one would be inclined to identify it as Aayanār son of Siva, although in its pose it recalls the figure of Rāma (*vide* Plates LXXI, LXXII). It has special resemblance with the figure of Rāma in (Plate LXXI). Before all the best existing examples, some of which are still stowed away in the temple corridors and underground cells, are accessible and made available for study, it will not be possible to undertake an adequate survey of the South Indian bronzes with a view to trace their history and the style which they evolved in the different periods. As we have found the practice

History.

Fig. 17

of casting metal images has continued throughout the 14th and 15th centuries up to our times. The religious patronage which the Chola princes extended to the image-makers was followed by their descendents and successors and also by private citizens and merchants and the common people ; such patronage has varied from time to time under various surrounding circumstances, the fates of the ruling dynasties or the religious activity of the particular periods. The impetuous current of Saiva fanatic zeal lost much of its force with the fall of the Chola powers and also with the rival activity of the Vaishnava movement and finally received a fatal check by the Mahomedan invasion led by Malik Kafur in 1310 A.D. The Nāyakas of Madura and later on the Maharattas at Tanjore who were both Saivaites tried to keep up the temple festivities and to revive the patronage for religious art which was so fashionable during the Chola rule but the original character of the sculptor's art which attained its highest water-mark about the 9th and 10th centuries had lost its vitality. The Nāyakas (1549-1673) no doubt, kept up the waning flame for a time and made substantial contributions to the art of the South, as will be evident from their stone architecture and the sculptures associated with them which are typically represented by the famous Choultry of Tirumala at Madura (1623-59). But soon after the Nāyakas had lost their power the last stay of the royal patronage which had kept the practice of the arts at such a high level was gone and the art of the South Indian sculptor distinctly took a downward course. The ruling dynasties at Vijayanagar also tried for a time to imitate the lavish religious patronage of their predecessors but their influence was less important and the sphere of their activities was comparatively narrow and their artistic undertaking was relatively meagre and could hardly recall the times that preceded them.

There is an interesting reference to a bronze temple in the account of Abdur Razzak, the Persian ambassador to Deva Raya II (1420-43) of Vijayanagar. In the course of his journey from Mangalore to Vijayanagara he visited a town "where he saw a small but wonderful temple made of bronze[1]". But it is impossible to say if the temple was constructed by the Vijayanagara Kings. The temple at Tirupati, on Tirumala hill, was the object of the lavish endowments of the Vijayanagara Kings and the riches of

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1 Sewell—*A Forgotten Empire* (1900), p. 88.

this temple are said to have attracted the greed of Portuguese invaders led by the Governor of Goa in 1545. In lower Tirupati there are still a few families of image-makers and bronze casters.

The metal portraits of Krishnaraya of Vijayanagara (1510-29) (Plate LXXIV) and his queens and also of Venkatapati Raya (1586-1614) (Plate LXXV) which have been found at Tirumalai in the North Arcot Districts indicate the quality of workmanship of the bronze statues of this period. The Mahratta dynasties at Tanjore established by Venkaji in 1675 attempted to imitate for a few years the religious activity of the Cholas, and to revive the services and festivities of the temples of Brihadeswar.

Some of the copper images in this temple (Plate LIII) and also in the collection of the Ranis of Tanjore testify to their patronage of the art of the bronze imagers. But the inferior quality of the latter collection can not claim any comparison with the splendid examples of the Chola period. The Nāyakas had not the same resources at their command which enabled the Chola princes to make their lavish religious endowments a bye-word in South Indian history. Nevertheless the craftsmen of the South, who grouped themselves in villages in the principal places where temple-building flourished, from time to time, formed important centres to which people from all parts of the country looked for the supply of accessories for their religious faith and their temple-services. For after all the inspiration which called into existence and kept alive the art of the sculptor was not the patronage of the king who bestowed lands to the artists but the religious faith of the people at large which the sculptors shared alike with the prince and the common people. For whether the prince or the *bourgeois* gave him his living the South Indian *sthapaty* was in the service of the temple;—it was a religious employment, not a secular patronage. They were not the 'King's craftsmen' but the employées of Siva. The centres of these religious craftsmen changed from place to place and have shifted as far as Ceylon where a Saivaite colony was founded about the time of the Chola king Adhi-rajendra. The principal centres appear to have been in the Districts of Tanjore, Trichinopoly, North and South Arcot, Salem and Ramnad. The only living vestige of these different centres appears to be the small village of Swamimalai where a group of hereditary craftsmen consisting of about ten families are still practising their traditional craft. After the great periods of temple-

building died out the art of the bronze workers was kept in existence by the requirements of private individuals who still continued their faith in the spiritual merits of bestowing gifts of images to the temples. Latterly this practice of votive offerings has been invariably confined to the female sex who now are in the South, as in the other parts of India, the only custodians of the Hindu religious traditions of ancient times. The bronze-workers of Swamimalai still receive, now and then, important commissions from various parts of South India and also from Ceylon. But the fashion of presenting or setting up images in temples has waned and the opportunities for the bronze sculptor to practise his art have become limited in the course of the last few years. An attempt was made to find employment for some of these craftsmen from Swamimalai in the Government School of Art in Madras and some of them are still employed as teachers in that institution. The Victoria Technical Institute, Madras, has also entrusted various commissions to them during recent years and has tried to keep up the reminiscences of a very old school of bronze-workers.

From the examples at our disposal it is not possible to piece together a connected history of the evolution of South Indian bronzes which must await further and exhaustive researches. Till then we must be content with a tentative grouping of the examples, discovered at present, based on a general study of their stylistic peculiarities. As we have found, very few of these examples can be dated and those which can be associated with the date of any particular temple in which they have been found, afford interesting proof of the fact that the bronze image-makers never lost their high artistic skill even in later times which one will be inclined to call decadent. For, amidst the numerous inferior images of later times, we find, now and then, one or two masterpieces which hold their heads high above the generally mediocre character of the contemporary works. A very characteristic example will be found in the image of dancing Krishna (Plate LX) which is a comparatively modern work. The accompanying *saktis* which encumber the central figure display a great disparity, in technique and conception, as compared with the fine modelling and vitality of the dancing figure.

The typically decadent examples are perhaps well represented by the figures illustrated in Plates VII, XI, XVIII, XX, XXI, XXXII, XLV & L. On the other hand the most characteristic qualities of this school

of sculpture are very well brought out in the illustrations given in Plates I, III, IV, XVI, XXXI, XXXIII, XXXIV, XXXVI, XLIX, LII & LXXVIII. The group of the latter taken together constitutes a fairly high criterion by which the qualities of the later works can be judged.

Relative dates of the leading examples.

After the Java image, one is inclined to place the image of Gouri (Plate XXXIV) and Siva-kāma-Sundari (Plate XXXIII) as coming next in order of time. The modelling in both these images is a little stiff and conventional and they probably represent earlier examples of Chola sculpture. They mark the preparatory stage for the maturity of style and the faultless technique of some of the best of the Brihadeswar images. The images of Kālākāla, Pārvāi and the Natarāja in the Tanjore temple will undoubtedly justify these claims. The image of Gangādhar also from a temple in Tanjore (Plate XIV) suggests comparison with the figures of Kālākāla and Paramesvara-Swamy (Plates I & XVI), but in its general character and conception does not seem to belong to the times when the Brihadeswara images were made and presented to the temple. The numerous inscriptions which Raja-Raja I caused to be carved on the walls of the Brihadeswar temple are of special interest with regard to these sculptures. From these inscriptions which are all dated in the 29th year of his reign (*i.e.* 984 A.D.), we find that Raja-Raja presented to this temple various images, one of which was a gold image of Khetrapāldeva. His gift was followed by others of the same kind from his Queen Lokamahadevi,[1] his son Rajendra Chola Deva,[2] his commander-in-chief Senāpati Srikrishna Rāma[3] and by the manager of the temple named Adittan Suryan. The inscription of the last-named person which is also dated 984 A.D. refers to seven copper images which he presented to this temple.[4] Of these the two of Sundaramurti (Nambi Arurānar) and his wife Paravaiyar may possibly be identified with the figures in plate (XXX) and the Frontispiece. The other inscriptions however do not help us to identify any of the other images illustrated in this volume. Much as we should desire to fix the date of the splendid copper images of Natarāja reproduced in (Plates III, IV & V) they must for the present remain undated. We

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1 *Ibid*, Inscription No. 34.
2 *Ibid*, p. 95.
3 *Ibid*, p. 152.
4 *Vide* Hultzch, South Indian Inscriptions, Vol. II, para. I.

read from an inscription of Queen Cholamahadebi in the Brihadeswar temple dated 984 A.D. that she set up copper images of Śiva called Ādavallar (Natarāja) and his consort and presented a few ornaments to these images.[1] The description however does not seen to answer to the large image of Natarāja in the Brihadeswar temple illustrated in (Plate III) particularly having regard to the height of the image given in the inscription which cannot apply to this image. Excepting the height given in the epigraph, the description, however, very well applies to the Natarāja in the Musée Guimet Collection (Plate VII) and the one in the Ceylon Museum (Plate IX) and is therefore worth quoting :—" One solid image of Ādavallar having four divine arms the (goddess) Ganga bhattārakī on the braided hair, nine braids of hair (*jatā*) and seven flower garlands (*pumālai*) and measuring together with (an image of) Musalagam (the demon) who was lying on the ground three quarters and one eighth of a muram in height from feet to the hair. One lotus on which this image stood set with jewels and measuring three viral in height. One pedestal measuring 5 viral in height. One solid aureola measuring 3 muram and 2 viral in circumference. One solid image of his Consort Umā-paramesvari measuring 17 viral 2 tarai (about 18 inches) in height from feet to hair."

The figures of Natarāja illustrated in (Plates III and IV) approach each other very closely in style and decorative details; the oval form of the *arch of flame* is hardly met with in the later examples of this image. The example from the Brihadeswar temple is undoubtedly the best composition of its kind hitherto known to us. The fine modelling of the figure is distinctly superior to the example from the Madras Museum. The smiling expression of the face which recalls the words '*Kinchit prahasitānam*' of the sculptors' Sanskrit text is also more finely rendered than in the other examples. One is almost inclined to attribute the masterpiece to the great sculptors of historical fame, Jaya, Parojaya or Bijaya. Although it does not look as old as the Kālākāla image (Plate I) it cannot be attributed to a period later than the second half of the tenth century. Compared with these three images the Natarāja from the Colombo museum lags far behind in conception and technical execution. The specimen from the collection of the Musée Guimet though closely follows in detail

1 Hultzch, South Indian Inscriptions, Vol. II, part II, plate 171.

the Colombo image is much more crude in execution and is evidently a very modern work and compares poorly even with the latest example (plate XII) which was executed at the Victoria Technical Institute by a sculptor from Swamimalai in 1909. The image in the Hoozoor Kachery (treasury) in Tanjore[1] has no special merit compared with the foregoing examples. The examples given in Plates (VIII & XI) have some novel features which distinguish them from the previous examples. The image from Nallur in the Tanjore District (Plate VIII) is a clever study in movement and is also interesting for its iconographical peculiarity. The eight-handed Natarāja is comparatively rare in the Tamil country. This conception seems to be identical with that of the stone relief of Dancing Siva in the Ellora Caves (Fig. 12). The text of *Kāsyapiya* refers to Natarāja with eight hands and sixteen hands respectively, but the *lakhana* or the description suggesting the corresponding pattern-image is not given in the text. There are images similar to Plates VII & IX in the collections of Sir Ratan Tata and Lord Ampthill which we have been unable to reproduce here. It only remains to refer to the decadent examples of this subject from the Colombo Museum illustrated in Mr. Vincent Smith's work. Few will endorse Mr. Vincent Smith's opinion that " it is the most artistic of all " similar images. For reasons which we shall presently consider, the work may be supposed to represent an abortive attempt of local Sinhalese craftsmen who, without a training in the traditions of Saivaite iconography were trying in vain to imitate the masterpieces of the Saivaite bronze sculptors.

The examples from Ceylon.

The *pancha louha* images all of a Saivaite character found in the ruins of a Siva Devale in Polonnaruwa in Ceylon and now deposited in the Ceylon Museum are important documents indispensable for the study of these bronzes.[2] In fact the figure of Sundaramurti, one of these finds (Plate XXII), undoubtedly claims to be one of the best specimens of its kind which it is difficult to match with any example from the main land. Questions have been raised as to whether these images were imported from India or made locally by Ceylonese sculptors.[3] Dr. A. Willey, F. R. S., late Director of the Colombo Museum, has asserted that " they are Polon-

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1 *Vide* illustration figure 174, Vincent Smith, A History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon.

2 A History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon, p. 253.

3 'Indian and Ceylonese Bronzes' by V. A. Smith, *Indian Antiquary*, May 1912, p. 128. *Spolia Zeylanica*, September 1909, p. 67.

naruwa bronzes for better or worse " and are not the works of Tamil craftsmen. It cannot be contested that Buddhism of Ceylon has laid the foundations of a very interesting school of sculpture both in stone and metal and that for several centuries artists both in metal and stone have flourished in Ceylon. But it will be impossible to associate the Saiva images from Polonnaruwa with the local artists of Ceylon brought up in the traditions of Buddhist art. On the other hand the peculiar character and subject of the images forbid any supposition that they could be the works of artists other than those well versed in Saiva iconography, and the rules of image-making specially connected with the same. Although various Buddhist text books for sculptors have been found in Ceylon, none of the South Indian manuscripts of the *silpasāstras* have been discovered there.[1] Besides the influence of Saivaism never spread among the Ceylonese who are always referred to as " *Sivadrohis* " or the ' enemies of Siva ' in the Chola inscriptions. The remnants of the Siva temple at Polonnaruwa seem to represent the only centre of a non-Buddhistic cult in Ceylon and it is in fact the only Saivaite colony there. That Saivaism never obtained a permanent footing in Ceylon will appear from the nature of the political relationship between the chief of Ceylon and the Saivaite princes of the Chola dynasty. The first Chola king who conquered Ceylon was Parantaka I (circ. 906-946) and from such conquest assumed the title of " a veritable Rāma in battle." His conquest does not seem to have acquired much influence and it was Raja-Raja I who brought about the complete subjugation of the whole island of Ceylon about the year 1005, the twentieth year of his reign. He ruled Ceylon through governors appointed by him and is said to have presented the revenue of a village in Ceylon to the Tanjore temple (*Tanjore District Gazetteer*, p. 31). This supremacy continued up to the time of Kulottunga I (1073) when a rising took place and the Cholas were completely driven out from Ceylon. Of the Tamil records found in Polonnaruwa, those of Rajendra Chola I and of Adhirajendra (circ. 1070-1073) show that these kings made some benefactions to the Saiva temple, there, which was known as *Vanvanama-devisvaram Udaiyar*. The first part of the name suggests that the temple

1 Some of the *dhyānas* collected in the *Rupabāliya* translated by E. R. Gooneratne, refer to images of Siva, Pārvati and others but they do not correspond to any of the bronze images found in Polonnaruwa.

must have been founded by or at least come into existence at the time of a queen called Vanavanmadevi, probably a Chola princess. A few short epigraphs found close to these Saiva temples refer to donors whose names show their connection with the South Indian towns Tiruppavanam,[1] Tiruvaiyaru and Chidambaram. After throwing off the Chola yoke in 1073 the Ceylonese retaliated by invading the Chola country during the reign of Raj Rajadhiraj II (1111-78). Led by their General Dandanath they captured and plundered Ramesvaram and marched upon Madura and burnt some villages in the Puttukkotai taluk. An inscription found in Arpakkam near Conjivaram gives a vivid picture of the dismay of the Cholas and describes the ravages of ' very wicked and vicious men,' ' all sinners against Siva' who had ' removed the sacred door of the temple at holy Ramesvaram, obstructed the worship and carried away all the temple treasures " (*Tanjore District Gazetteer*, page 32). A desecration of such an important Saivaite shrine could hardly be expected from any invaders with the slightest leaning for Saivaite worship.[2] It was obvious that in spite of a continued Chola occupation for nearly seventy years the Ceylonese had not developed much predilection for the Saiva religion. These " sinners against Siva," then, could hardly have encouraged local sculptors to cast images of a Saivaite character. The shrines of Siva found at Polonnaruwa were most probably founded by the Cholas for the benefit of the colony of Tamil Saivaites who emigrated to the north part of the island probably at the time of Raja-Raja I, and the Saivaite bronzes which have been discovered in the Siva Devale and adjoining sites at Polonnaruwa were in all probability imported from the mainland, at the time when the Saivaite shrines were built, or presented to the temples by donors from South India in later times. There is no doubt however that these beautiful examples of Saivite images which the Chola colonists brought to Ceylon excited the wonder and emulation of the local Sinhalese craftsmen, some of whom attempted to copy some of these models and to reproduce the conventions of its poses and peculiarities without a previous knowledge or training as to its traditional rules and measurements. It would be impossible for any sculptor familiar with the rules laid

[1] Madras Government Epigraphist's Report, 1909-10, p. 9.

[2] Rev. E. H. Brookes in the *Madras Review*, February 1901, page 97, refers to a tradition that Manikya vachaka converted the king of Ceylon to Saivaism and the latter removed his capital to Halannaro (Pollanaruwa ?) where he died.

Fig. 18

Fig. 19

down in the *Kāsyapiya* regarding the modelling of the image of a Natarāja to dispose the hands and the feet of that figure at such absurd angles as in the Polonnaruwa image (illustrated in Plate X). According to the canon of the Saivaite imager the arms shall not out-strip the *hiccā-sutra*, the horizontal line drawn across the neck and the shoulders—a rule which has hardly if ever been violated by the sculptors brought up in the South Indian traditions. The seated figure of Pārvati found in Ceylon (Plate LXXX) is perhaps a less unsuccessful attempt of a Sinhalese sculptor to reproduce a Tamil model of the same deity. If we compare this image with a somewhat similar sedent figure (Plate XXXV) of the same goddess it will be apparent there is a deviation both in the modelling and the treatment of the figure as also in the ornaments and details in the Ceylonese example which marks it out as the work of an artist unacquainted with the rules and conventions of South Indian sculpture. The hand carrying the lotus, in this class of images, according to the rule in the South Indian texts, should never over-reach the nipple of the right breast. Similarly the drawn up right leg shall nearly touch the knee of the other leg in this class of images. Both these rules have been observed in the South Indian examples but not in the Ceylonese specimen. We reproduce here (Fig. 18)[1] another typical example of an abortive attempt of a Sinhalese sculptor to imitate the Tamil model of the figure of Siva-kāma-sundari (Plate XXXIII). Another interesting little figure in the Colombo Museum (Fig. 19) has some kinship with the South Indian bronzes. The rosary of *rudrāksha*, the holy thread and the serpent would seem to proclaim a Saivaite subject. The true relationship between the art of Ceylon and that of South India is indicated by the fact that many of the details of ornaments and dresses and head-gears are derived from the practices of the old Buddhist sculptors which were adopted by the later Saivaite sculptors and which are met with in many of the contemporary Buddhist figure sculptures of Ceylon. Take for instance the stone Nāgadwārapāla from Ceylon (illustrated in Fig. 6A). One easily recognises in this figure the waist band—the *ratna kodar banda*. The *arunonmalai*—the central tiger buckle and the festoons of the drapery at the sides—are the unmistakable characteristics of South Indian bronze sculpture. They were in fact

Relationship between Sinhalese and South Indian Art.

1 It has been suggested that the figure represents Pattini. The type however unmistakably recalls Pārvati the *sakti* of Siva.

the common properties of all Buddhist artists of South India and Ceylon and have been adopted by and have survived in the practices of the Saivaite sculptors when Buddhism died out in South India. Referring to these bronzes found in Polonnaruwa, Dr. Willey has observed that " there are some experts who will declare that these bronzes are not so good as South Indian bronzes. Such a statement rests upon the conscious or more likely unconscious assumption that Ceylon is a paradise of mediocrities, and that whilst it produces many good things it never has produced one really excellent thing. The assumption may be correct, but it should be stated if it is so." Any one familiar with the splendid examples of Buddhist bronzes found in Ceylon will admit that the craftsmen of Ceylon hold their own in figure sculpture against all the master-pieces of the kind produced in the Indian Continent and the fact that the Polonnaruwa bronzes are not the work of Sinhalese craftsmen does not in any way detract from their reputation. The ' Jambala', the ' Avalokiteswara', and above all, the bronze statuette of Bodhisattva from Anurādhapura[1] in the Colombo Museum, to name only a few, are " really excellent things ", executed by Sinhalese artists, which have no rivals in India.

The Polonnaruwa finds are undoubtedly the most typical examples of South Indian bronzes and the Sundaramurtiswami (Plate XXII) and the Chandeswara (Plate LXXVIII) take their place as some of the great masterpieces of Indian sculpture. In the figure of Chandeswara as in the figure of Mānikka vāchaka, Āppār and Tirugnānsambandha (Plate LXLIII), one finds a simplicity of treatment and a less conventional modelling which distinguish these figures from the traditional representation of the images of the deities. Special interest attaches to the remarkably fine statuette of the so-called Chandeswara (Plate LXXVIII) said to be " an apotheosised devotee of Siva ". From the inscription on the base of the image as read by D. M. de Z. Wickeremsinghe it is clear that it represents some lord, chief or king and not a deity. It probably represents some royal donor or founder of the temple although the head-dress—the *Jatā-mukuta* (the crown of matted lock) and the richly decorated cloth wrapped round the figure would seem to suggest a saintly personage[2]. It is a much more conventionalised portrait than the somewhat similar figure of Venkatapatirāya (Plate LXXV), the latter

[1] Coomaraswamy, Selected examples of Indian Art, Plate XX.
[2] Probably Vyaghrapāda.

being a more real portrait. Of the two figures of Āppaswāmi one has already been reproduced in Mr. Havell's *Ideals of Indian Art* (Plate XIV). The other one which is reproduced here (Plate LXLII) is very different from the former in treatment and conception and can only be identified by the weeding implement. A somewhat similar figure of the boy saint Tirugnansambandha seems to be the production of the same artist. The image of Surya also found in Polonnaruwa (Plate XXV) is remarkable for the beauty of its technique particularly in the delicate ornamentation. It seems to be much older in date than the other finds and has a dignity in its *samavanga* pose which lends it a character much superior to similar images found in the Chola territories, *e.g.*, the one found at Suryanarayan Kovil in the Tanjore District (Plate XXIV), the only sun-temple first founded and dedicated in the Tamil country by Kulottunga I (1067-1070).[1] The Colombo image of Surya is much more akin in style and treatment to the *Pārvati* in the same collection. With this figure should be compared the other images of Pārvati (Plate IX, *Spolia Zeylanica*, September 1909), which are more stiff in pose and formal in treatment than the other image. The 'Siva and Pārvati,' of the Colombo Museum (Plate XXVII) also invites comparison with the similar subject from the Madras Museum (Plate XXVIII). The Colombo example suffers by the comparison not only with the Madras copy, but also in comparison with the artistic qualities of the other images, *e.g.*, Siva (Plate XXIII), Sundaramurti or Chandeswar. The Polonnaruwa finds taken together display a variety of treatment and a disparity in technical qualities which would preclude the assumption that they grew up at the same time as the production of a school of sculpture which could be said to have arisen in Ceylon under the Chola influence. The absence of any unity of style in the various examples found in the site would support the supposition that the collection in the temple grew from time to time out of the gifts made by Tamil donors from different parts of South India—with the result that some of the best specimens of South Indian bronzes are found side by side with very poor and lifeless examples.

Images of Rāma.

The cult of Rāma has contributed some very excellent pieces to the school of South Indian bronzes, the most striking example being that of Hanumāna (Plate LXIX).

1 Madras Government Epigraphist's Report, 1907-08, p. 78.

As an incarnation of Vishnu, Rāma has enjoyed a great popularity from very early times but a special cult founded on the worship of his image seems to have arisen much later, about the 12th century. Anandatirtha, the founder of the Mādhva sect, is said to have brought the image of Rāma from Badarikāsrama and sent Naraharitirtha to Jagannatha about the year 1264 A.D. to bring what was called the original idols of Rāma and Sitā.[1] The southern part of the Pāndya kingdom, the Ramnad Taluk, Rameswaram and Ceylon have been specially associated with the exploits of Rāma. The island of Rameswaram is said to contain the original *lingam* which Rāma himself founded. In various temples in the Ramnad district images of Rāma with his consort Sitā, and Lakhana, Hanumāna and Jāmbubāna are frequently found. One of such groups is illustrated in Plate LXXI. The group of Rāmā and his associates represented in Plate LXXII is the work of a modern artist of Swami-malai. The figure of Hanumāna in this group is specially remarkable. There has been some difficulty in identifying the missing object which the figure of Hanumāna is supposed to carry. This could be identified from the figure in Plate LXXI which evidently carries two *lingams*. According to the legends, Hanumāna was deputed by Rāma to go and fetch two *lingams* from Benares, one to be founded by Rāma and another by Sitā. As Hanumāna did not come back with the *lingams* within the auspicious hour fixed for the installation ceremony Rāma established two *lingams* made out of sand by Sitā, which greatly enraged the monkey-god when he returned late, with the *lingams* from Benares. In order to appease his anger Rāma ordained that the *lingams* brought by Hanumāna should have precedence of worship over the sand effigies of Sitā for all future pilgrims to the shrine of Rameswara. The representation of Sitā has led to some confusion amongst artists who have generally adopted the traditional form of Pārvati (Sivakāma Sundari) in representing the consort of Rāma. In the images of Pārvati the left hand is represented as hanging down (*lol hasta*); according to the practice of the imagers, Sitā should be represented with a lotus in her left hand and her right hand should hang down as in Plate LXXII. This rule has not been followed in the image of Sitā in Plate LXXI. The figure represented in Plate LXXXIX

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1 "The Cult of Rāma," page 47, Encyclopædia of Indo-Aryan Research, Volume III, Part 6, by Sir R. G. Bhandarkar.

has been described as that of Arjuna by the officers of the Archæological department. Having regard to its pose and its *dhanurdhari hasta*, the arm holding the bow (*vide* p. 44) it seems to be a representation of Rāma. It is undoubtedly a very old figure and was discovered at a village in Trichinopoly.

The planets.

There is another class of images which does not belong to the cult of Siva, Vishnu or Rāma. They are very frequently represented and seem to be associated with cult of the Surya or sun god.[1] They are the representations of the planets Rāhu, Ketu, Sukra, Chandra, Budha, Sani and Brihaspati. A very representative group is illustrated in Plate LXXXI. The representations of the Vaishnavite *Alwars* have afforded plenty of work to the bronze-workers but the images of these saints have not produced such striking work as the statues of the Saivaite saints. A representative collection will be found in Plate LVII. Some Jaina images in bronze have been discovered and reported on by the Archæological Survey Department, Mysore, but they do not seem to disclose any new type or any specially artistic peculiarity. The only importance of these finds lies in the fact that some of the images bear inscriptions giving the names of the artists—a comparatively rare occurrence in Indian Art. We reproduce here one example of a Jaina image in bronze from the collection of the Madras Museum (Plate LXL).

Jaina images.

1 The only sun-temple in South India is the one in the Tanjore district, founded by Kulottunga I.

CHAPTER V.

Criticism.

THE one outstanding character of this school of sculpture which unquestionably constitutes the *bella epoca* of Indian Art is its absorbing religious motive. It is an essentially hieratic art exclusively devoted to the governing themes of South Indian Saivaism and latterly to themes from Vaishnavism, themes which turn upon the sacred person of Siva and Paramesvara, Vishnu and their various manifestations and all the array of saints, apostles and quasi-divine personages, *e.g.*, the Alwars and the Sivayogins subordinated as types or witnesses to the central personage. The primary interest of this class of statuary would seem to be its appropriateness for the religious function which called them into existence and could thus only be studied and judged, from the point of view of the faithful, by the standard of the religious dogma defined and circumscribed by the texts which they were intended to illustrate. To the eye of the faithful worshipper such images have a meaning and significance which are quite distinct from their artistic values. For, according to that well-known Japanese saying, "Even the head of a herring, if worshipped in true faith, will emit a ray of light." The ray of light which the artist infuses into his subject is quite independent of what is attributed to it by the eyes of pious devotion. All great art however is expression. And if the artist has succeeded in giving expression to the idea with which he is for the time being saturated, be it a personal and transient emotion, or a great philosophic truth, a spiritual symbolism or a narrow religious dogma, his production fulfils the highest function of art. Judged by such a standard these icons of the South Indian image-makers, the hieratic manifestations of religious faith, have fulfilled their purposes and as such are works of art of very high merits. Apart from their religious significance the productions of these bronze-workers also conform to those universally accepted standards by which the sculptures of all countries in all ages have been judged and appreciated. Let us

first consider the relation in which this school of bronze stands to the other Indian schools of sculpture and its position with regard to the other manifestations of Indian art and then it may be convenient to take a wider standpoint to realize the position it takes in the great body of art that belongs to mankind as Man.

Buddhist and Saivaite Sculpture.

In the first place this manifestation of Saivaite art (from the 8th to the 14th century) constitutes an organic development wholly and absolutely distinct from the purely Buddhistic tradition which gradually died away in South India about the middle of the seventh century A.D. The reign of Buddhism in the preceding centuries had trained the hand of the Indian craftsman to exquisite cunning which was left as a great artistic asset to the South Indian iconographers who utilised and developed the same to a highly rich and articulate expression which culminated in productions never before attempted by the Buddhist predecessors. Except in a few Mahayanist bronze images mainly found in Nepal, Ceylon and Java, Buddhist sculpture was almost exclusively confined to the treatment of figure in repose, and the merits of Buddhist sculptures are almost confined to their static qualities. Saivaite art on the other hand with its many dramatic conceptions recorded in the *pauranic* legends with such wealth of imagery has afforded endless materials for the study of figures in action and movement and has called from the sculptor a greater mastery over anatomical forms than that required for Buddhist art. The figure representing the *Gajhāmurti* of Siva (Plate XIII) by far supersedes all representations of Natarāja in its dynamic quality. It will be difficult to find in the whole array of Indian Buddhist sculpture such beautiful examples of power and action suggested in the rythmic spring and sweep of the body rendered in terms of a generalised and refined anatomy from which all superfluous details have been eliminated. It challenges comparison with Kon-go-ya-sha, the great Japanese representation of Vajrayaksha[1] or the Greek Lacöon. The representation of the female form is also a characteristic feature of the South Indian school of bronzes which has introduced many new types never attempted by the Buddhist sculptors. The various images of Tara with its numerous *tantric* developments which one finds scattered throughout the whole field of Buddhist

1 *Vide* plate No. 2553, *Catalogue des oevres d'art et de Haute curiosite de la Chine et du Japon de la collection Gillot, Paris* 1904.

art hardly suggested any types to the South Indian sculptor for the representation of the innumerable conceptions of Pārvati and other female deities which people the South Indian Pantheon. Images such as that of Siva Kāma Sundari (Plate XXXIII), Pārvati (Plate XXXIV) and Ādhārasakti (Plate XLII) are original contributions to the figure sculpture of India made by these Saivaite artists of the South. Mr. Havell's observation that "it is often difficult to distinguish between Mahāyāna sculptures of the 8th and 9th centuries and those of the Saivaites,"[1] generally applies to the representation of the male deities rather than the female conceptions. For although the images of Buddhist and Saivaite conceptions have many points of resemblance due to the idealistic treatment of the figure which is a common tradition in all schools of Indian art, the parent inspiration of the South Indian sculptors of the 8th to the 14th centuries must be sought for in the bas-reliefs at Mammallapuram which were executed probably between the 6th and the 8th centuries. The school of bronze workers executed a majority of their works between the 8th and the 15th centuries when, as we have found, the style flagged and entered into a period of degradation. Side by side with the works of the bronze image-makers there grew up a school of stone sculpture which culminated in a new stylistic development which we find recorded in the temples of Avadaiyar kovil, Koranganadham temple at Srinivasnallur (Trichinopoly) and Tadpatri in the 16th century and the temples and their connected structures at Madura in the 17th century. The latter school displayed a freedom of style and conception which is quite different from the formalistic productions of the bronze workers unable to get over the stiff unyielding immobility of types which the iconological formulas imposed upon them. The stone sculptors who decorated the *gopurams* and the exterior of the temples with statues and bas-reliefs illustrative of the various *pauranic* legends were less handicapped by any special forms of images prescribed in the text. The bronze workers who cast their images for the special rituals, and the cults, the subject of worship in the temples, had less freedom of interpretation and had to conform to the code of laws laid down in the *silpa sastras* and to the series of prototypes sanctioned by the hieratic censorship from which artistic invention could not deviate. The limitations

1 E. B. Havell, Ideals of Indian Art, page 135.

thus imposed on the bronze image-makers had their advantages as well as weaknesses. If one consider for example such vitally rythmic compositions as the Natarājas from the Tanjore temple and the Madras Museum (Plates III, IV and V) one is forced to admit that the pattern prescribed by the text directing the disposition of the limbs and their proportions does not necessarily limit the visions of the true artist and that it is possible to rise to the level of true artistic expression while slavishly adhering to the rules and proportions laid down by the iconographer. If we compare for instance all the various examples of copper images of Natarāja of which ten specimens are collected here (Plates III to XII) we find that in spite of the fact that all the artists had to conform to the specialised pattern suggested by the *dhyān mantra* and the *lakhana* prescribed for the image, each artist has succeeded in giving an individual interpretation and each of the examples has some noble qualities of its own, notwithstanding the fact that in nearly all the images the hands spread out to the same measured height and the legs are disposed at almost the same inclinations. The latitude given to the artist by the canons seems to be, that so long as the iconographical detail was adhered to and the individuality of the image from the worshippers' point of view was not violated, the artist could have his own way. Indeed one text distinctly lays down that the measurements for the images enjoined by the *sāstras* are general rules for the guidance of the artist, who could, subject to those general rules, follow his own discretion in shaping the image. The fixation of types which the sculptors' canon and the *dhyān mantra* of the priest ensured in the representation of these images was the product of an attempt to perpetuate the conception of a master-craftsman as a precedent to be followed by succeeding generations of artists. For it will be apparent in many of the best specimens of this class of images, that in spite of the clumsy and crude technique they reveal a conception which is far superior to the manner of its execution. The reason no doubt is that many of them " reproduce the conception of men more gifted than the actual makers of the statues." These fixed types in which the ancient master-sculptors visualised the iconographer's sketch of the image and have set noble precedents for their disciples to follow, may be very well compared to the musical modes or ' *rāginis* ' prescribed by the Indian musical texts, which, while they enjoin on the musical performer the necessity of confining himself to

the particular keys which give the rough image of the particular *rāga*, afford ample scope to each performer for individualistic treatment in the way of improvisation. Thus the same *rāga* when rendered by different artists at different times while it recalls and invokes the rough outline or the *laswir* of the *rāga* differs in innumerable ways according to the moment of the inspiration or the fancy of the particular musician.

Effect of the Canons.

It may be urged on the other hand that the patterns furnished and the rules laid down have for ever reduced the art of the Indian sculptor to a formula, and whatever precedents and traditions these canons succeeded in carrying and transmitting to the later generations of artists, the real effect of these canons was to stifle the true spirit of art by subjecting it to as dogmatic a rigour in design as in heiratic doctrine.

In the first place whatever may have been the value of these artistic devices and the graceful poses suggested by the rules of proportions and measurements, when repeated by the inferior craftsmen who were unable to enter into the feeling of these artistic *motifs* and to understand the *rationale* of the original inventions, the conception of the master-sculptors was bound to degenerate when couched in slovenly technique, which was unworthy of the idea which it sought to express; and it would have been infinitely preferable for the less talented artist to express his own humble ideas in his own way than to strut along the grooves of conventions which he could not understand, interpret, or use as his own. Besides, having regard to the subject-matter of these sculptures, the artist was not allowed to be the interpreter of his own ideas but was set to work upon the ideas imposed by the priests and iconographers of the temple; and the task of interpreting the ideas of others is much more difficult than to interpret one's own. It is evident therefore that, however excellent a training these canons afforded to the apprentice in craftsmanship and design, they tended now and then to paralyse the freedom of expression of the less gifted craftsman. For while their original object was to secure a fixation of the types for these cult-images, by forbidding experiments on new lines, they succeeded also in many cases, in fixing and circumscribing the limits of individual artistic expression.

Indian and Greek Sculptures.

If we now turn for a moment to examine the nature of the artistic performance of these schools of craftsmen we find that in the best examples they have upheld qualities

which, the world have agreed, constitute the greatest art. It is unquestionable that in the types which they represent and in the treatment of the figure which they show they are different and sometimes antagonistic to the examples of ancient classic sculpture in Europe. As may be seen that the only school of sculpture to which these Indian bronzes may be said to bear any affinity is the great school of Egyptian sculpture. Even then the monumental quality of some of the Egyptian Pharaohs and the intense realism of such portrait-statues as that of the Lady Naphret (*Cairo Museum*) are lacking in the best examples of the Saivaite apotheosised saints. On the other hand, as pictures of gods and super-human types, the studies of the Saivaite imagers, however mechanically they have been produced are infinitely superior to any religious art with which we are familiar in Greece, Italy or Egypt. The Greek conception of life for ever circumscribed the Greek sculptors' conception of form and has confined the Greek artist's vision of gods to a perfectly developed healthy human body. The "beautiful humanities" of the Greek Olympus, those finely handled "flesh-forms," are not in any real sense religious conceptions. Their gods are but grand and beautiful *men*. For Greek sculpture was after all the finest expression of Greek life—"a sensuous open-air, well-ordered life, largely spent between the gymnasium and the temple."

In their love and care of the human body they created an image of man hardly superior to man himself. Even in the statues of the Greek gods of the early periods, apart from their attributes, there is hardly any attempt to distinguish gods from men. "Perhaps the earliest class of statues in which we find any attempt to give artistic expression to super-human power is that in which we see the god in vigorous action, often striking with his characteristic weapon: Zeus with his thunderbolt, Posidon with his trident or Athena advancing rapidly with brandished spear and shield advanced. But even these figures, apart from their divine attributes, show no essential distinction from *human combatants*. It is a significant fact that it is still a matter of dispute whether one of the most famous statues of the early fifth century "the Choiseul-Gouffier Apollo" represents a god or an athlete. Such a typical or normal human form is, in fact, the logical expression of anthropomorphism in its most literal sense—the making of gods after man's image."[1] For the ordinary Greek

1 "Religion and Art in Ancient Greece." By E. A. Gardner, 1910, pages 72-73.

believed that the gods actually existed in human form and even in their characters, passions and moods were like human beings.

So in the Homeric hymns we find the same human interest is given to the gods, their sufferings and adventures. They had little about them of the mysterious or the unearthly. They were "human, all too human." The vocation of the Greek sculptors was not "to bring the people nearer to the gods—to the conceptions of the super-human, as in India—but to bring the gods nearer to the heart of the people by making their images in human shape". It must be remembered that the Dyonysian spirit or the philosophy of Plato had no influence in Greek sculpture. In fact in the plastic arts of Greece no attempt has been made "to peer through the shadows of the real things that which we do not see". The Indian outlook on life—as embodied in its religious philosophy, has been always a search for the infinite—a desire to escape the limitations of individuality, time and space. And naturally in the service of that religion Indian art and particularly Indian sculpture has used form "less for its own sake than as a manifestation of something more changeless and eternal". It was not possible for Indian art to create a type that captivates and charms: it was not sensuous. On the other hand it was essentially super-sensuous and curiously metaphysical, carrying the mind beyond the object represented to a world of abstract ideas—a world of mystery and exultation.

Indian Artistic Anatomy.

As we have seen the contemplative verses, the *dhyānas*, are the roots and the starting-points of the Indian sculptor. In the Agnipurana (ch. 43) the image-maker is enjoined on the night before beginning with his work and after ceremonial purification, to pray; "O thou Lord of all gods, teach me in dreams how to carry out all the work I have in my mind."[1] It is only when the mental image has sufficiently defined itself that the painter or sculptor begins to paint or mould.[2] The resultant of such mental or spiritual image could be ill represented in terms of a physically perfect healthy human body. It could be only symbolised in an ideal type and by *forms not strictly in accordance with known physiological laws* but rather

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[1] Dr. Coomaraswamy "Aims of Indian Art."

[2] This practice reminds one of the *seánces* of the modern master-sculptor Auguste Rodin which he undertakes to get into the spirit of his subjects, vide *Modern French Masters*, by Marie Van Vorst, 1904, p. 78.

by forms which transcend the limits of ordinary human body. The Indian Sculptor had therefore to devise certain artistic conventions and a special system of anatomy for the purpose of suggesting and intimating " something beyond the forms of things." He had set himself " to create beyond himself," as Nietzche puts it : to suggest and evolve the type of the super-man. The Indian image-maker in depicting the images of gods was not therefore circumscribed, like his Greek brethren, by the limitations of human bodily form but was free to deduce his forms from non-human existences as well. Hence we meet in Indian sculpture with forms which are many-handed, sometimes polycephalous, sometimes zoomorphic and sometimes the grotesque and the terrible, for the so-called distinction between physical beauty and ugliness has no place in these divine conceptions.

Creation, preservation and destruction are equally the functions of the Divinity. His image may be now beautiful, now terrible—but is always suffused with " that living quality which transcends all limited conceptions of beauty and ugliness." As Dr. Rabindra Nath Tagore has put it, ' its beauty has a quality which overwhelms all the beauty of created things ' (*Samastha Viswēr rūp dobāna rūp*). The Indian conception of the Divine has uplifted the human form out of the realm of the merely physical and has transfigured it with a spiritual meaning. It will be futile therefore to contend that the statues of the Indian *sthapathy* fall short of the physical idealism of Greek sculpture or that they have transgressed the rules of human anatomy. The forms devised, and the generalised and sometimes conventionalised anatomy worthily represent the ideas they seek to express and are therefore appropriate for their purpose. At the same time they display some artistic values of a novel order.

To the ordinary spectator the first feeling which is produced by the contemplation of such images is the " strangeness of intellectual landscape " which hovers about these conceptions. The various forms of the images of Siva which these Indian *sthapathis* have communicated to bronze will leave the average modern spectator cold. Like some of the Egyptian sculptures they will appear " cruelly distant and strange, terribly remote and uncommunicative." You feel that what you have seen *does not belong to your world* and that it is utterly and completely separated from you. It is not the tale of a " glorified ideal of human powers " which Hellas has told in

its animated marbles. It is a peep into the Indian Olympus peopled with actual gods and super-human beings, *not* with the athletes from the gymnasium posing as deities. " It is the adoration of the unknown force which maintains the universal laws and which preserves the types of all beings; it is the surmise of all that in nature which does not fall within the domain of sense—of all that immense realm of things which neither the eyes of our body, nor even those of our Spirit can see"—(RODIN).

Apart from its spiritual appeal, the examples of Indian bronzes we have been considering, in spite of their formalism, possess the universal elements which the artists and connoisseurs appreciate in the art of figure sculptures. For notwithstanding the differences in superficial aspects due to a different racial impulse and a strange religious motive they answer to the supreme tests of great art. And apart from their symbolic meanings and the religious ideas with which they are saturated their appeal in their artistic elements is unquestionable. As studies of line, pure and consummate (Plate I and Frontispiece) as exquisite examples of the values of movement (Plates XIII and III) as embodiments of force, with power and ability in every line (Plates XXII, LXXVIII), in their nervous gestures (*vide* Diagrams A to Z), as in the tranquillity of their poses in the various flexions, these images display qualities of everlasting nobility which unquestionably constitute a full-fledged school of vital sculpture. In the perfect tenderness of feeling expressed in such figures as the Chandeswara, in the grace and rythm in the dancing figures of Krishna, or in the most marvellous examples of power, action and life manifested—without the slightest sacrifice of sculpturesque quality—in the conceptions of Natarāja, they take their place amongst the masterpieces of the world.

PLATE I.

Kālsamhāra or Kāla-kālamurti of Siva

(Lit., Siva—the destroyer of Time or Death).

Brihadeswar Temple Collection, Tanjore. *Date Circa Tenth century.*

DHYĀNA.

" Bandukāvarn-trinetram-yuga-vuja-sahitam, sulamudhritya-haste
Sabye-tankam-suthangstrang-bidadhatamaparam-tarjani-sucipāsam
Ā-kincitkuncitānghrim-nijapadakamalampādamudhrityakālam
Bidhbangsan-tarhenam-khitimuni-baradam-vābayet-kālakālam."

TRANSLATION.

'Kāla-kāla, the bestower of gifts to khitimunis (?)' should be thus contemplated :—

He having a complexion like the *banduka* flower, with three eyes, and four hands, carrying the *sula* (weapon), with a sharp-edged *tanka* (axe) in his right hand, with the sucimudra (*vide* Plate XXI and diagram F) at the other (right hand), his own lotus foot slightly bent at the ankle and raised in the act of trampling (destroying) *kāla* '[Time].'

There is some confusion as to the symbolism of the lower right hand which is tentatively identified as the *sucihasta*. The position of this hand as indicated in another text seems to correspond to the figure :—" *Nāvi-sutram samam suchi* " *i.e.*, the *suchi hasta* shall lie on the horizontal line through the naval. This verse does not mention the weapon of the second left arm, which is missing in the figure itself. According to the text of *kāsyapiya* quoted below the lower left arm indicates surprise. The verse is however corrupt and difficult to follow, but more accurate in its description of the image.

Atha-bakhsye-bisesena kālahā-murti-lakhanam :—
" Devasya-dakhinam-pādam-padma-pithoparisthitam
Prathamam—nrityamrityastu (?) dakhinam-sthita-pādakam (?)
Bāma-pādam-tamudhritya-kunchitam-talamudhritam
Angustha-mudhritāgretu-kālsaya-hridaye-nyaset
Sudangtrasya-trinetranca-jatāmukuta-manditam
Catur-hasta Samāyuktam-astha-hastha-mathāpibā
Dakhine-purba-hastantu sulam-karnānta-mudhritam
Dakhinetara-hastantu-parsum-baradam-tathā
Bāmetara-hastantu-bismayam-parikalpayet."
(Kāsyapiya, kālahāmurti-lakhana-patala).

TRANSLATION.

Now the peculiarity of the image of kālahā is specified in detail :—

" The right leg of the god should be resting on the lotus-pedestal, the left leg raised with the foot drawn up and with the toe lifted up, should be placed on the bosom of Kāla. (The god should have) a face with beautiful teeth, three eyes and a crown of *jatāmukuta* (*vide* p. 46) with four hands or with eight hands. The first right hand should have the *sula* raised up to the end of the ear, the other right hand should have the *parasu* (axe) or the gift-betowing symbol, the other left hand should suggest surprise."

The text further goes on to describe the little demon at the foot as having two hands with the head erect.

The image is sometimes conceived with eight hands as will appear from the following dedicative verse :—

" Nilāvam-raktanetram-jwalita-kacha varam-kruram-dangstramsuvimam
Sulam-bānam-ca-kadgam-parsumapi-dhanu-khetakam-pāsamiddam
Suchi-hastanca-sabye-bara-kara-nikarai-bibhratam-kālakanthe
Dvangsad-bāmānghrim-padman-munijana-bhitiharam-kālakālāntakam
namāmi."

The earliest example of this image occurs in the famous Pallava stone panel in the upper rock-cut cave at Trichinopoly wrongly described as Natarāja (*vide* fig. 158, Vincent Smith's History of Fine Art, page 222). A later example of the Chola period is illustrated in figure 14 which is iconologically a different conception of the same subject.

PLATE II.

Umāsahita or Umā-maheswara murti.

Rijk Ethnographisch Museum, Leiden

Date Circa Sixth Century.

DHYĀNA :

" Padmasthāna-sukhāsanam-trinayanam sandhista-gowri-mukhā-
Loka-smera-mukham-jatā-mukuta-yuk-khandendu-moulim-sitam
Bāmālingita-bāmamanya-karayo stankam-mrigam-bivratam
Sesham-Sabya-karāvayapradamumā-yuktam Mahesambhajet."

(Kāsyapiya.) [See page 55].

Another verse descriptive of the image is thus quoted : —

" Dhabalāva-sukhāsana-Devi-yutam
Harini-mriga-tankā-vaya-baradam
Sumukhi-kara-mutpala-dhrik-jatilam
Umayā-saha-deva-swarupamidam."

(Kāsyapiya.)

TRANSLATION.

" The white-complexioned one seated with the goddess in the easy pose of *sukhāsana* (the hands bearing and representing) the deer, the *tanka* (weapon) *abhaya* and *barada*, wearing matted locks (jatā) the beautiful faced goddess carrying the lotus in her hand—such is the image or representation of the god with *Umā* (Pārvati).

This conception of Siva and Parvati is also sometimes called *Gouri Bilāsamurti* :—

" Hrista-tryakhyayutam-prabālakiranam-raktotpalam-kundalam
Tankam-krishnamrigāvayam-ca-dadhatam-Gourim-nijoru sthitam
Alingayā-sthita-bāma-pada-kamalenaitan-mukhāswāditam
Sodyāne (?)-gagane-bimana-sahite-Gouri-bilasām-bhajet."

Plate II

PLATE III.

Natarāja or Natesa.

Brihadeswara Temple Collection, Tanjore.

Date Ninth Century.

DHYĀNA :

" Ekasyāntu-catur-bhujam-trinayanam-bame-tu-dhusturakam
Chandram-patra-sikhi-prasārita-karam-urdham padam-kuncitam
Sabye-swastika-mandalam-damarukam-ganga-bhaye (?) (jate)
Bivratam
Bande-kirnajatam Natesa-manisam-apashmāra-dehe-sthitam."

(Kāsyapiya.)

TRANSLATION.

" Having one face, four hands, three eyes, having the *dhuturā* flower at his left side and the moon on his head, having one hand spread out ; the upraised leg bent (at the knee), having the ring of fire on his left (hand) and the drum, and carrying the goddess Gangā on his matted locks, I pray to the wise Natesa, with his locks fluttering about, and standing on the body of the demon."

The verse descriptive of the spiritual function of the conception is quoted in the description of the next plate. The mermaid figure of Gangā referred to in the above verse is rendered in a miniature image on the halo above the drum, but is more legibly represented in the images on plates VII and IX.

The dancing figure of Natesa is distinguished under 18 different classes the most important being that of Munitāndaba, Kālitāndaba, Agni-tāndaba and Ānanda-tāndaba.

The arch with the fringe of fire at the back of the figure, which forms a sacred halo (*tiruvasi*) is said to symbolise the mystic syllable " Om."

PLATE IV.

Natarāja.

Madras Museum Collection

Date Circa Tenth Century.

This image was discovered in the courtyard of a house at Velangani in the district of Tanjore in 1872. (Indian Antiquary 1872, page 194.)

DHYĀNA :

" Lokānāhuya-sarbān-damarukaninādai-ghora-sansāra-magnān
Datwāvitim-dayālu-pranatavayaharam-kuncitam-pād-padmam
Udhrityedam-bimukterayanamiti-karāddarsayan-pratyayaratham
Bivrad-bahnim-savāyām kalayati natanam ya-sa-pāyānnatesa."

TRANSLATION :

" Calling by the beat of the drum all persons engrossed in worldly affairs, the kind-hearted one who destroys the fear of the meek and gives them reassurance, and points by his hand to his upraised lotus-foot (bent at the knee) as the refuge of salvation and also carries the fire and who dances in the assembly-hall (universe) let that Lord of Dance protect us."

This verse gives the meaning of the conception rather than the iconography of the image and is used by the Brahmin priest in the cult-worship in the temple.

Plate IV

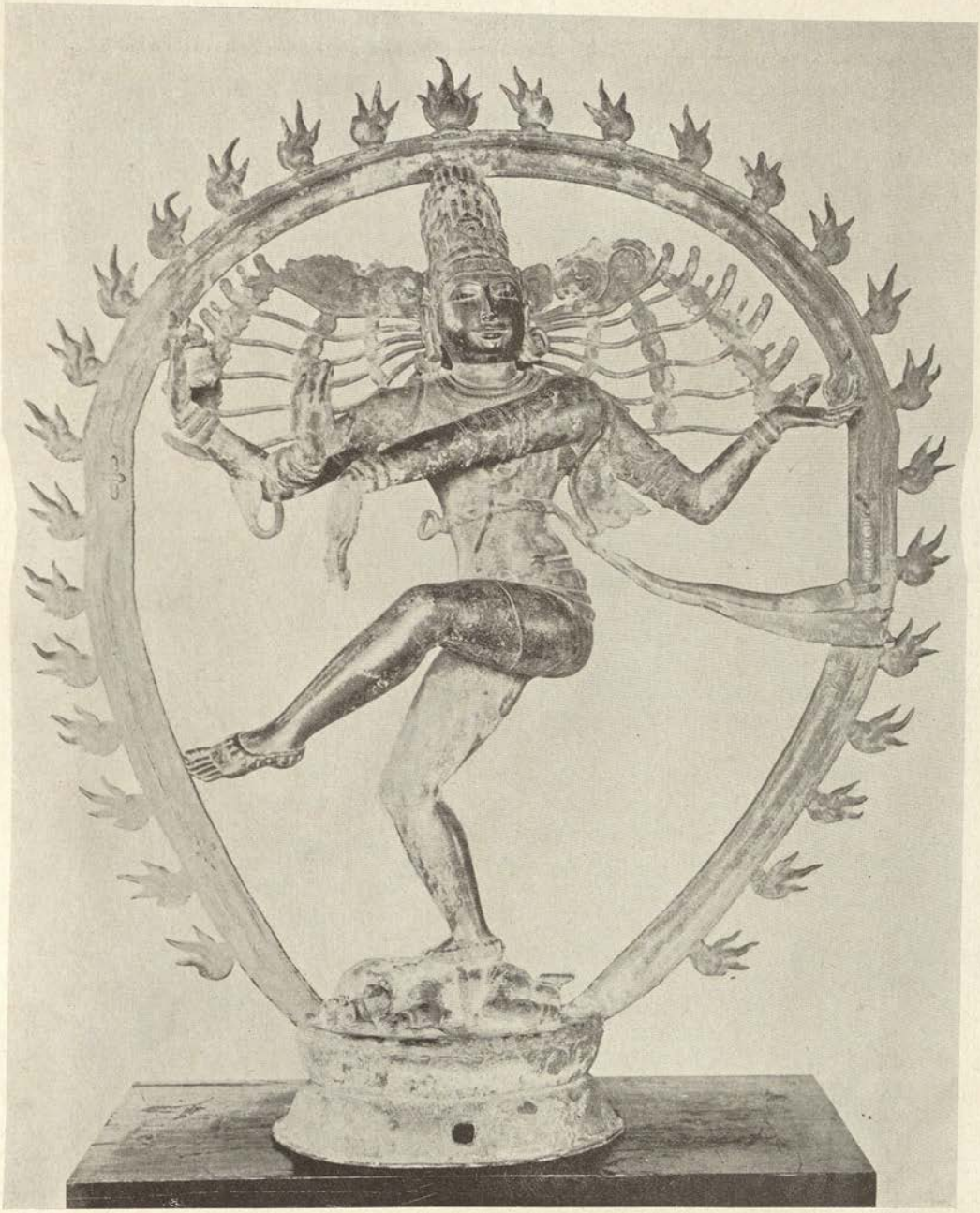

PLATE V.

Natarāja.

Madras Museum Collection.

Date Circa Tenth Century.

The chapter dealing with *Nrittamurtilakhana* in *Kāsyapiya* gives in detail the features and measurements of the image. The snake encircled round the front right arm (missing in this image) is not indicated in the *dhyān mantra* but is suggested by the pattern given in the *lakhana* :— " Avaya-prakosta-madhye-tu-vujanga-balayam nyaset." As to the measurements, the most important is the height of the upraised leg— which is directed to be on a level of the navel (" udhritanghri-stu-jānwordham-nāvi-sutram-samam-bhabet "). The end of the cloth waistband (angabistāram) should touch the arch of fire (Pravā-mandalmāsritya-udarabandhāgrako).

PLATE VI.

Natarāja.

From Pattisvaram, Tanjore District.

Date Circa Eleventh Century (?).

Pattisvaram is about 3½ miles from Kumbakonam and contains an old Siva temple with many sculptures and inscriptions. This image was found with two other Saivaite images and may have been associated with the old temple.

Plate VI

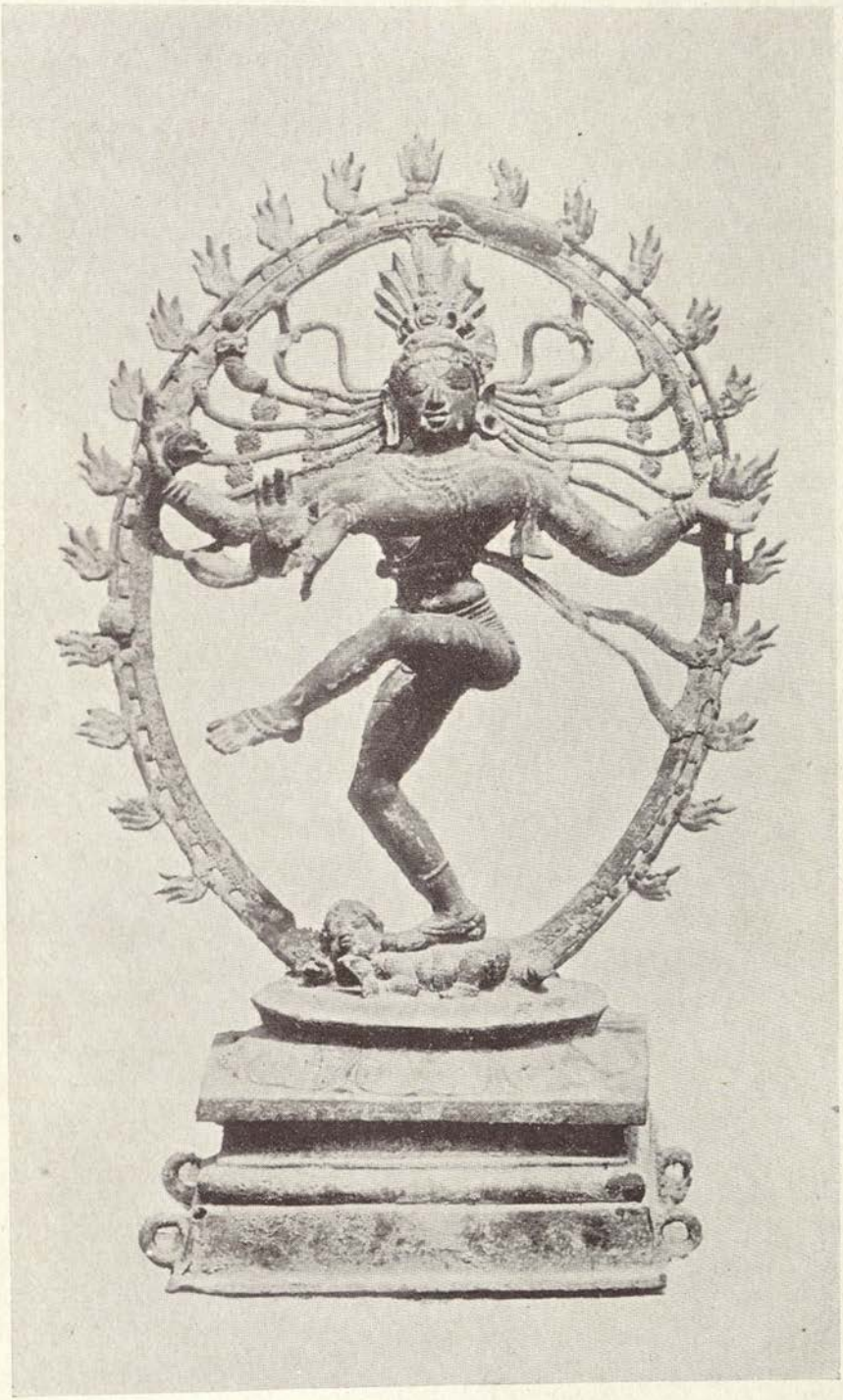

PLATE VII.

Natarāja.

Museé Guimet Collection.

In the absence of any information as to the locality where it was found it is impossible to date this image which has, however, a striking resemblance to the Natarāja in the Colombo Museum (Plate IX) which seems to be earlier in date.

Plate VII

PLATE VIII.

Natarāja.

Kalyansundareswarswami temple, Nallur, Tanjore District.

The Dancer of the fifth dance is conceived with eight hands as in the image here. The text of *kāsyapiya* runs as follows :—

" Karnāntamudhritam-sabyam, pādam-bāmam-tu-kuncitam
Vujāstaka samāyuktam-etat-pancaka-nrittakam
Avayam-sula-pāsam-ca-damaru-dakhinekare
Kapālam-cāgni-pātramca-ganda (kadga ?) hasta karopomam
Gajahastopamam-hastam-prasārya-dakhinānugam."

TRANSLATION :

" The left hand being raised up to the ear, the left leg being bent, and having eight hands—this represents the fifth dance. The right hands should have the *sula* (trident) the noose, the drum and the *avaya mudrā*, the other hands having the cup of fire, the skull and the dagger(?). The hand resembling the tusk of the elephant should be suspended towards the right."

The left arm in this example holds a foliage not suggested in the verse which is not clear in this particular passage. The Siva in his aspect of the Bhikksanatesa sometimes carries a foliage. The temple in which this image was found is one of the oldest temples associated with the Chola Kings. It was here that Rama on his return from Ceylon after killing Ravana is said to have worshipped Siva to expatiate himself from the sin of killing Ravana. The bronze image is certainly much older than the examples from the Colombo and the Guimet Museums but it is not possible to attribute any accurate date to it. The eight-handed Natarāja is comparatively rare.

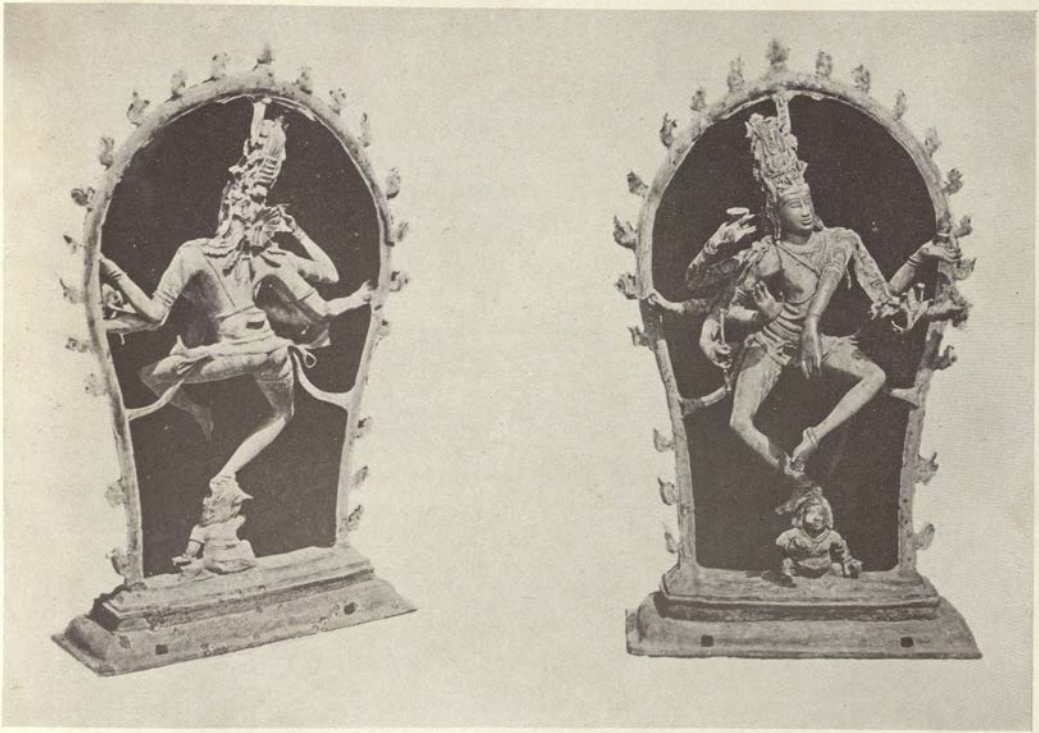

PLATE IX.

Natarāja.

Colombo Museum.

This is one of the finds from Polonnaruwa. For reasons which we have considered at pages 65-66 this image may be ascribed to about the eleventh century. Artistically it is much superior to the example at Musee Guimet which it follows very closely in conception and details. There is one peculiarity in the iconology of this image which should be noted. The crescent moon is placed on the matted locks instead of at the head as in all other examples.

Plate IX

PLATE X.

Natarāja.

Colombo Museum.

Of the two examples illustrated here, the one on the right is perhaps the most decadent specimen of the image discovered up to date and was probably the work of some Sinhalese craftsmen trying to imitate the Chola Sthapathis. The image, on the left, is of the commonest type without any striking features, but in contrast with its neighbour displays a happy quality in its rythmic disposition of the arms and the legs (*vide* pages 66-67).

Plate X

PLATE XI.

Natarāja.

From Rameswaram, Ramnad.

The conception of the image offers some novel features, *e.g.*, in the manner of the head dress and also in the attitude of the demon at the foot. The modelling is fairly good and the pose and the general effect are pretty. The dragon-heads at the base of the arc should be noticed. The image may possibly be assigned to the times of the later Sthapathis about the seventeenth century.

PLATE XII.

Natarāja.

Tagore Collection, Calcutta.

This is a modern image executed in 1908 by a hereditary craftsman from Swamimelai (Tanjore District).

PLATE XIII.

Gajahāmurti.

(Lit., the form in which He killed the Elephant.)

Also known as Gajāri, Gajāntaka and Virāteswara.

Virateswar Temple Collection, Valuvur,
Tanjore District.

This is a bronze repoussè plaque attached to the base of the big stambha in front of the temple. It is a modern copy of the ancient image in the shrine.

DHYĀNA.

" Sthitwā-hasti-sirastha-sabya-caranam bāmānghri-bakrodhritam
Puchordhābrita-carma-dhrik-yugakaram sulāsi-sringojjwalam
Bame-kheta-kaphala-pāsa-dadhatam-dangstrānwitam-rakthavam
Debyā-bhiti-guhāt-tathāca-hasitam (?) devam-Gajārim bhajet."

(Kāsyapiya.)

TRANSLATION :

"Standing with his right leg on the head of the elephant, the skin with the tail-end upwards being held by the two hands, glittering with the (weapons) *sula, asi* (sword) and *sringa* (horn) and holding in his left hand, the shield, the skull and the noose with the teeth joined, and having a red complexion, smiling (?) at the consternation of his consort (goddess) (?) the god, who is the enemy of the elephant—Him I adore."

Another meditative verse runs as follows :—

" Tryaksham-prasannam-sasidhara-mukutam-kundalodvhāsita gandam
Sabye-khattānga-saktam (?)-satala (?) mitarato lambi-bāhu-dvi-hastam
Bālārkam-susovam-taruna-ruci-nivam
Sighra-māgacchatārādhastwindrenam (?) susundam-kadalita-hasti-sirasthamide."

(Kāsyapiya.)

TRANSLATION :

" With three eyes, gracious in appearance, with the crown bearing the moon, the chins shining with the ear-ornaments, carrying in his right hand the *khattānga* (weapon) *saktam* (?) the other two hands spread out, with beautiful young body having the grace of youth—I adore the one standing on the head of the elephant with a beautiful trunk and with its body trampled on."

The corrupt form of the last line of the verse is not quite intelligible.

This image is sometimes conceived with four and sometimes with eight hands as in the example illustrated. According to the *lakhana* laid down in the *kāsyapiya*, the tail of the elephant should be disposed in the manner of the ring or the sphere of fire (*pravā mandala*) ; the four right hands should carry the *sula* (trident) sword, the skin of the elephant, and its tusk respectively, and the four left hands should carry the skull, the shield, the noose and the elephant's skin. The right leg being posed on the head of the elephant, the left leg should be raised and curled up.

The four-handed dwarfs appearing on either side of the figure in the photograph are not suggested in the texts.

The flexion of the figure must be taken to represent the *ati-bhanga* pose. Bronze figure representing this conception of Siva is particularly rare. There is a beautiful stone example of this image in a Chola temple in Perur 3 miles from Coimbatore (*vide Viswakarmā*, Plate 32, Part VI). There is a relief representing Siva destro ing the elephant in the Dhumra Lena Cave at Ellora.

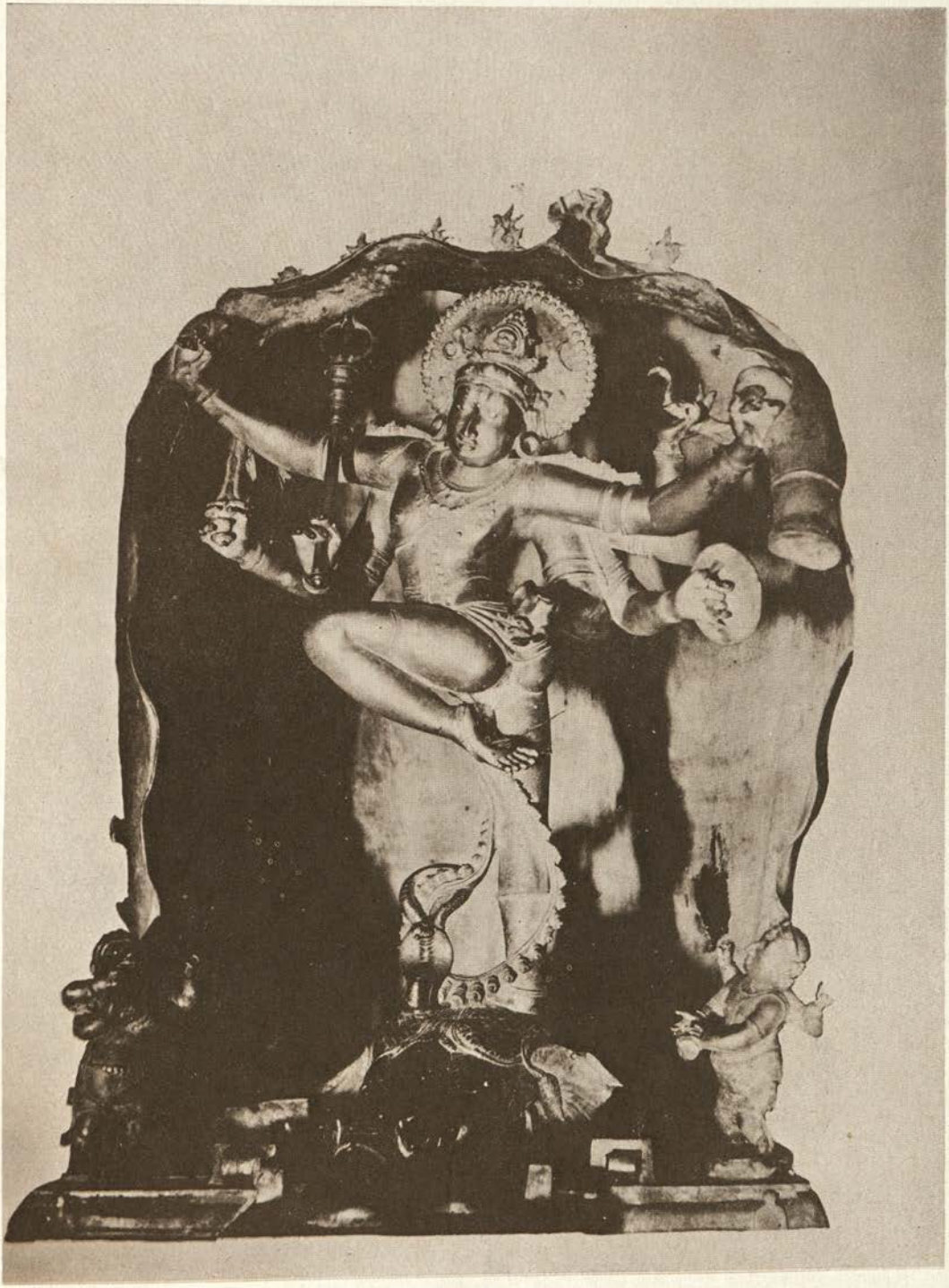

PLATE XIV.

Gangādhara.

(Lit., He who bears the Ganges.)

This figure is from a temple in Tanjore and may be dated about the 12th century.

DHYĀNA:

" Sāntam-padmāsanastham-sasidhara-matulam ? (mukutam)
Yogapattābritāngam-tankam bame-kurangam
Baradamapidadhatam-sabya-bhāge-trinetram
Lambitvā-curitānghrim (?)-amala-sura-nadi-sabyabhāge-bahamtam
Gouryā-bāme-sametam-hasita-tanu-vabam (?)-namāmi-Gangādharesam."

(KĀSYAPIYA.)

TRANSLATION:

" I bow to three-eyed Lord Gangādhara, serene and tranquil, with a white complexion bearing the crescent on the coronet, covered with the vestment known as *yogapatta* carrying on his hand the *tanka* and also indicating the bestowal of gift (*barada*) in his right hand and carrying the pure ' river of the gods ' (Ganges) on the right side (of the head), and having Gouri at his left side."

In the image illustrated here the deer and *tanka* (axe) of the upper hands are missing. The lower right hand indicates the barada mudra—in a manner different from all images familiar to us in the North. The *mudra* delineated in the lower left hand, though not suggested in the verse qouted, is evidently the *ālingana mudra*—the posture of embrace. This is confirmed by another text, too much mutilated to be quoted here, which says—" Debyālingita bāma-hasta," *i.e.*, embracing the goddess by His left hand.

This is also supported by the text of *Sakalādhikar* which is worth quoting :—

" Susthitam dakhinam pādam-bāma-pādanca-kuncitam
Baradam-dakhine-haste-debyālingantu-bāmake
Aparam-dakhinam-hastam ushinasāntu-tatodhritam
Sapuspam-bā-bāme-haste-tu-dakhinam lambitam-tu-bā
Tiryak-prokosta-sanjuktam-sroni-parse tu-tatsamam
Sarbālankār-sanjuktam-mukutam-divi-bhusitam.
Ebam Gangadharam Devam."

(Āgastiya.)

TRANSLATION:

" The right leg is firmly placed, the left leg being bent, the right hand in the *barada* pose, the left hand embracing the goddess, the other right hand raised to the termination of the crown—the (first) left arm may carry a flower, the (first) right arm may hang down, and should have a hand bent at the joint and should reach the level of the hips. He is decked with all ornaments and having a coronet with divine decorations—Such is the God Gangādhara." The pattern of the image defined in *Kāsyapiya* (Gangādhar lakhanpatala), is similar to the above. The threads and festoons running across the breast over the left shoulder are known as the *yogapatta*. The pose of the figure is in the graceful *āvanga* flexion. This is also suggested by the measurement of the distance between the toes, given in the *Kāsyapiya* as 18 angulas, that between the two ankles being $\frac{1}{3}$ of 18 angulas.

Plate XIV.

PLATE XV.

Chandra-sekhara—also called Somadhāri.

(Lit., He who bears the crescent on His head.)

Madras Museum Collection.

The image of Chandra-sekhara has many variations one of which is constructed with the *āvanga* pose, the common form being in the *samavanga* attitude. The example here is in the *āvanga* pose and is based on the following descriptive verse from the *Kāsyapiya* :—

DHYĀNA :

Aruna-mani-nivāngam-candracudam-trinetram
Harina-parasu-bivracchakti-mālingya-bāme
Avayada-kara-brittam-(? yuktam) hāra-keyura-vusam
Sthita-kamala-dalāgre--Somadhāri-swarupam."

TRANSLATION :

" With a body, red like a ruby, having the crescent at his head, with three eyes, carrying the deer and the axe, embracing His consort (sakti) with his left hand, with a hand chiding away all fear (avaya), decorated with necklace and armlets, standing on the tip of the lotus petals (such is) the image of Somadhāri (lit., He who carries the moon)."

The only feature suggested in the above verse which does not tally with the illustration is the gesture of the right lower arm which is indicated as the *avaya* mudra according to the verse.

The armlet worn by Siva is generally known as the *nāgāvarana* (snake-ornament) which is typically illustrated in the figure of *kālakāla* Plate I. As votive gifts to Siva this particular ornament is very frequently met with in the inscriptions.

According to another text the upper arms are stated to be in the *kartari mudrā* and the lower right hand in the *kataka mudra* (p. 44), as in the figure illustrated (" kartari-para-hastou-dvow-katakam-dakhine-kare "). The blade of the axe, says the same text, should be away from the figure, the face of the deer being directed towards the figure.

The height of the two upraised arms should be on the level of the line drawn across the neck (hiccā sutra) : " kartari parahastā-grou-Hiccā-sutra samam-vabet," and the middle finger of the *avaya* hand shall not outstrip the nipple of the breast." " Madhyāngulāgramavaya-stana-chuchuka-samam-vabet."

PLATE XVI.

Prameswara Swami.

Jambukeswar Temple, Vadrangam, Tanjore District.

This is a representation of Chandra-sekhara, the proper name being probably given by the donor of the temple according to the usual custom. It follows closely the last figure (Plate XV) in all its iconographical detail. It is also in the *Āvanga* posture and is more finished in its execution than the last figure which is more striking in its pose. The pegs on the pedestal are for the ring of fire which is missing in this image but occurs in the figure illustrated in (Plate XI). The rings at the four corners of the pedestal are for driving in poles for carrying the image on the festival days.

PLATE XVII.

Chandra Sekhara.

Tagore Collection, Calcutta.

The figure illustrated on this plate is the more common conception of Chandra Sekhar in the *Samavanga* pose and is based on the following verse in *Āgastiya* :—

DHYANA :

" Bipulabadana (tri) (?) netram-soumya-sringāra-bhābam
Avaya-barada-hastam-candra-bimbānka-moulim
Riju-tanu-Sama pādam-Sthānakam-bidrumāvam
Parasu-harina-dhārī-padma-pitoparistham
Sphatika-niva-sukāyam-candra-moulim-Vaj'eham."

TRANSLATION :

" With superb eyes and face, with a serene and loving countenance with the *avaya*, and the *barada* hands, with the crown marked with the crescent, with a straight body, with legs equally disposed on the pedestal, having a complexion like a coral, holding the axe and the deer, standing on the lotus pedestal, with a body beautiful as the crystal, I adore Chandra mouli (He who bears the crescent on his head)."

The *Kāsyapiya* has laid down three distinct forms of Chandra ekhara which are technically known as—

(1) *Kebalam* (the single figure) ;
(2) *Gouri Sahitam* (the figure accompanied by his consort Gouri).
(3) *Kritamālingam* (in the act of embrace) ;

" Kebalam-Gouri-Sahitam-Sahajam-Gouri-sangjutam
Ālingyameka-hastena-devi-devou-parasparam
Kritāmālinga-mākhyātam-ebam-tribidha-muhytām."

Of the three forms of this conception the ' single ' figure is to be in the *Samavanga* pose. The height of the upraised arms up to the tips of the fingers are prescribed by the text not to overstep the horizontal (hicca) line drawn across the shoulders and the left *barada* hand should be pointing downward :—

" Kartari Kara hastau dvou-hiccā-sutra-samam-bhabet
Avayam dakhine haste baradam-bāma-hastake
Baradam-bām-hastan-tu-adhomukham-prakalpayet."

Plate XVII

PLATE XVIII.

Chandra Sekhara.

Collection, H. E. Lord Carmichael.

This image is practically another example of the figure illustrated on the last plate. The only peculiarity in this figure is in the disposition of the palms of the two upper arms which are turned away sideways.

This is a peculiarity common to the image of Gangādhar and is based on the text which says that the wrists of the hands carrying the weapon and the deer should be facing away from the figure (" Kartari-mani bandhantu-bāhu-bāhyamukham-bhabet ").

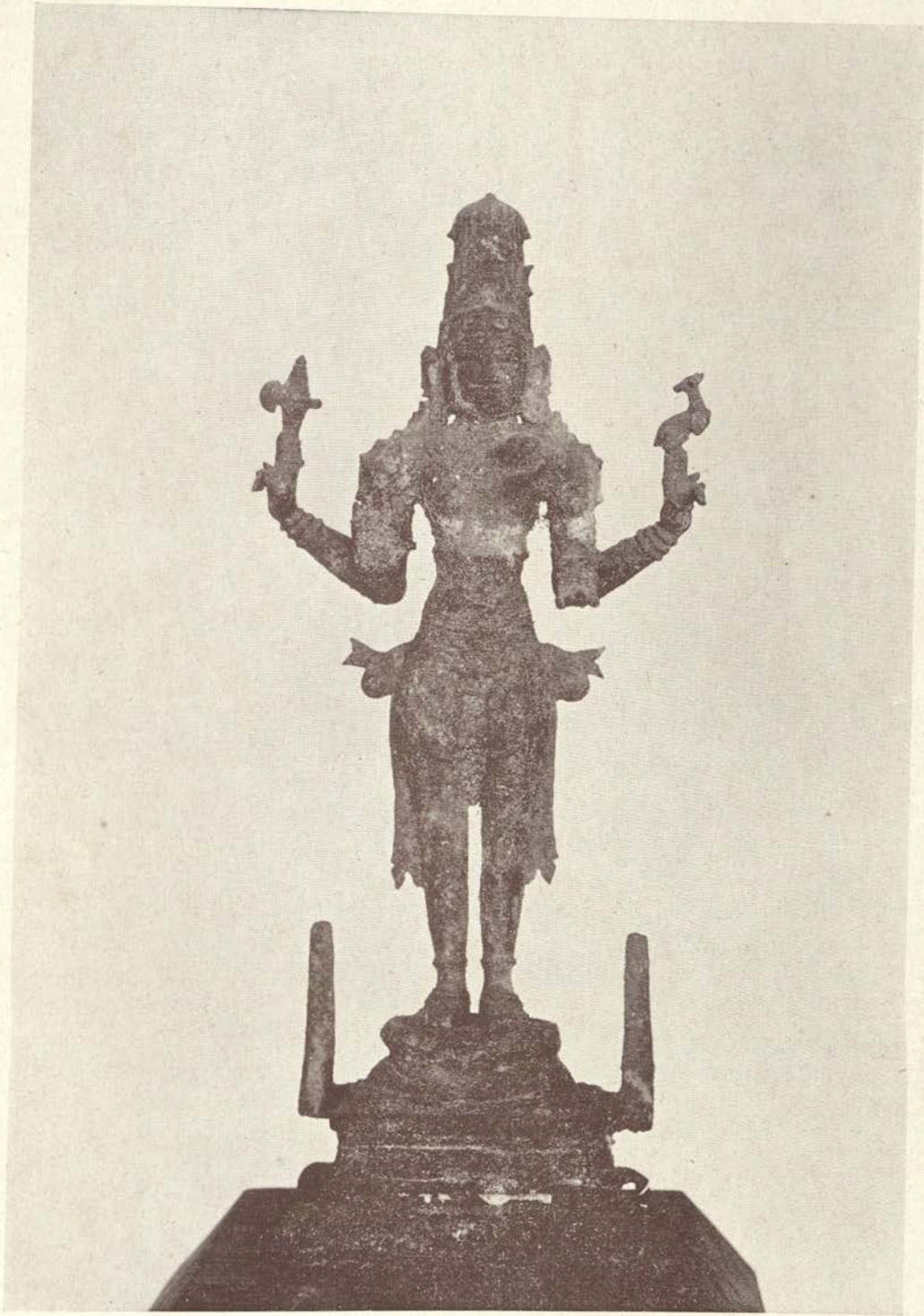

PLATE XIX.

Chandra Sekhara.

Collection, H. E. Lord Carmichael.

This is an image of Chandra Sekhara of the '*Kritamālinga*' type (*vide* notes on PlateXVII) in which the god is represented as 'embracing' his consort. Similar types have been found at Polonnaruwa (*vide* Spolia Zeylanica September 1909, Plate VI). In the panels of the temples at Pattadakal similar bas-reliefs in stone have been found. This form has to be distinguished from the other type known as 'Gouri sahitam' (accompanied by Gouri). In the latter conception the image of Gouri is set up on a separate pedestal.

Plate XIX

PLATE XX.

Vikshānatesa. (Height 3′ 6″).

Virāteswar temple, Valuvur, Tanjore District.

This is a conception of Siva as the mendicant. Siva as the great yogi is sometimes also thought of as the abjurer of all the riches of the world and the beggar *par excellence*. Siva going about with his begging wallet is a very familiar idea common to the northern *puranas*, so much so that the begging wallet has become an attribute of the god, which in South India is the bowl which he carries in his left hand as in the image here, which is based on the following verse :—

" Badana-kamala-deeptam-indu-gangāca-moulim
Sphatika-kirana-gātram-vashma-rudrāksha bhusam
Karataladamaru-sulam-pallabam pātra hastam
Gamana-uvaya-pādam-Vikhānatarupam."

(" *Āgastiya.*")

TRANSLATION :

" With his face shining like a lotus—carrying on his head the moon and the Ganges, with a body emitting rays like a crystal and decorated with ashes and *rudrāksha*, having in his hands the drum, the *sulam* (trident) a branch of a shrub, and the bowl and going about on his legs—such is Vikhanatesa."

The branch of the shrub is not found in the example here but will be recognized in the stone image of the god in the Brihadeswar temple (*vide* Fig. 13). The belt of the snake not mentioned in the text is a common feature in both the figures. According to another text this image is represented as accompanied by a deer and with wooden shoes (pādukā saktapādam).

Plate XX

PLATE XXI.

Kalyānsundara.

Madras Museum Collection.

DHYĀNA.

" Kundāvam-taru nendra-candra-chuda-mukutam krisnham baram bāmakē
Dakhe-lambi-patākayā-giri-sutā-hastambuje-bivratam
Tantam-chordha-kare-dhritam-swapurata (?)-padmōdvabenā-sritam (?)
Bamē-Vishnu-soma-sritam (?) smita-mukham Kalyāndevam-Vajē."

TRANSLATION :

" Having a youthful figure, a complexion like the *Kunda* flower, having a coronet bearing the moon holding the black deer, and bestowing gifts by his left hands, the right hand in the *patākā* posture (p. 54) hanging down, the upper (right) hand carrying the axe, his consort holding the lotus, he having a smiling face—I adore Kalyān devam."

According to the text of *Sāraswatiya*, the posture should be in a slightly thrice-bent flexion (*Ishadtrivangikam-Kāyam*) the left leg being stationary, the right leg is bent and drawn up. As we have noticed in the *Āvanga* pose (pp. 40-41), the body rests on the right leg and the left leg is drawn up, contrary to the pose of the image here.

The image may be taken to represent a decadent specimen. The upper two arms are certainly wrongly disposed.

Plate XXI

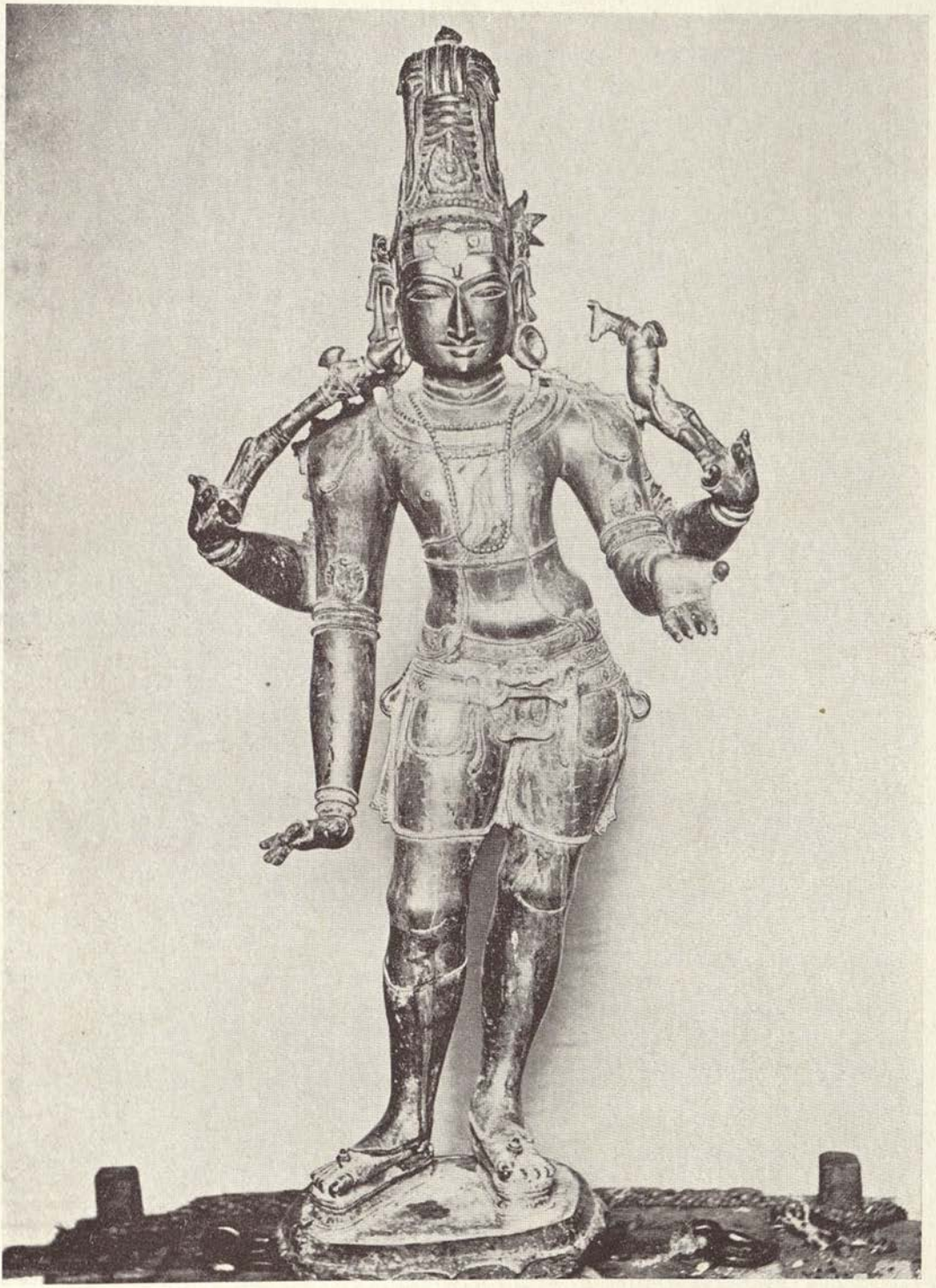

PLATE XXII.

Sundaramurti Swami.

Colombo Museum Collection.

The life and history of this Saivaite saint have already been given (page 17). The pose of the image which is *āvanga*, suggests a feeling of repose and symbolises a state of ecstasy. The movements of the hands which appear to be in the *Kataka mudra* (?) (page 44) emphasize the same rapturous emotion. His images in the temples are generally accompanied by the image of his spiritual consort Parvai (Frontispiece). According to a verse, very corrupt in form, the right hand of this saint should suggest the *gyānmudrā* (symbol of knowledge) and the left hand should hold a book, and the image should have two ear-rings :—

" Dvē-kundali-mani-sirōruha-cāru-baktram
Gyānākhya-mudraka-pustaka sabya-bāmē
Bame-iksha-sutra-muda-vogi-nirangsa bāhum
Dhayettrivangi-Siva-Sundara-muttmānghrim."

The image illustrated here is very different in its pose from the ones illustrated in plates XXX and XXXII which are in *trivanga* flexions as suggested in the above verse. The example reproduced in this plate is in the *āvanga* pose.

Plate XXII

PLATE XXIII.

Sandhyā-nritta-murti.

" Lord in His evening dance."

Colombo Museum Collection.

This dance of Siva is known as the evening dance of Siva a form of the *tāndaba* as distinguished from the other dance represented in the image of Natesa the latter being known as the '*Sādā-nritta*' the perennial dance. The verse descriptive of this dance has been difficult to trace. The following verse roughly follows the general feature of the image :—

" Ekam-pādamudasya-kuncitapadam-anyena-vu-sansthito
Bytyāsena-vujam-prasārya-damarum-byābartan pāninā
Ambā-baktra-saroruhēkhana-drisa-sānandā manda-smitām
Binyaste-sati-tāndabam-prakatayan-nāte-Nata pātu-na."

TRANSLATION.

" (With) One leg crossed and bent, the other leg resting on the ground, moving the drum by his hand spread out, his face having eyes like the lotus, glad and smiling, may the ' Performer displaying the *Tāndaba* dance' protect us."

PLATE XXIV.

Surya (Sun-God).

Surya-nārāyan Kovil, Tanjore District.

DHYĀNA :

" Padmāsana-padmakaro-dwibāhu
Padma-dyuti-sapta-turango-bāha
Dibākaro-loka-guru-kiriti
Mayi-prasādam-bidadhatu-Deva."

(Kāsyapiya.)

TRANSLATION :

" Having a throne of lotus, having lotuses in his two hands and a complexion of lotus, seven horses for his vehicle, the creator of the day, preceptor of all the worlds, and wearing a coronet, Oh Lord, bestow on me thy graces."

There is another verse descriptive of the Sun-God known as the '*Siva-Surya.*' It does not offer any new conception of the image and is quoted from *Kāsyapiya* :—

" Padmāsanam-rakta-tanum-dvinetram
Svetābja-yuktam-samahasta-yugmam
Raktāmbaram-lepanamālya-vusyam
Sthitam-sahāngai-Siva-surya-midē."

TRANSLATION :

" Having a lotus-throne, with a red body and two eyes with two equal hands holding two white lotuses, with red dress and decorated with garland, standing erect, (*perfect*) *in* in all the limbs, I adore Siva-Surya."

The temple where this image was found bears the inscription of Kulōttunga Chola I (1070 A.D.) and is the only solitary instance of a shrine devoted to the cult of the Sun-God in southern India.

Plate XXIV

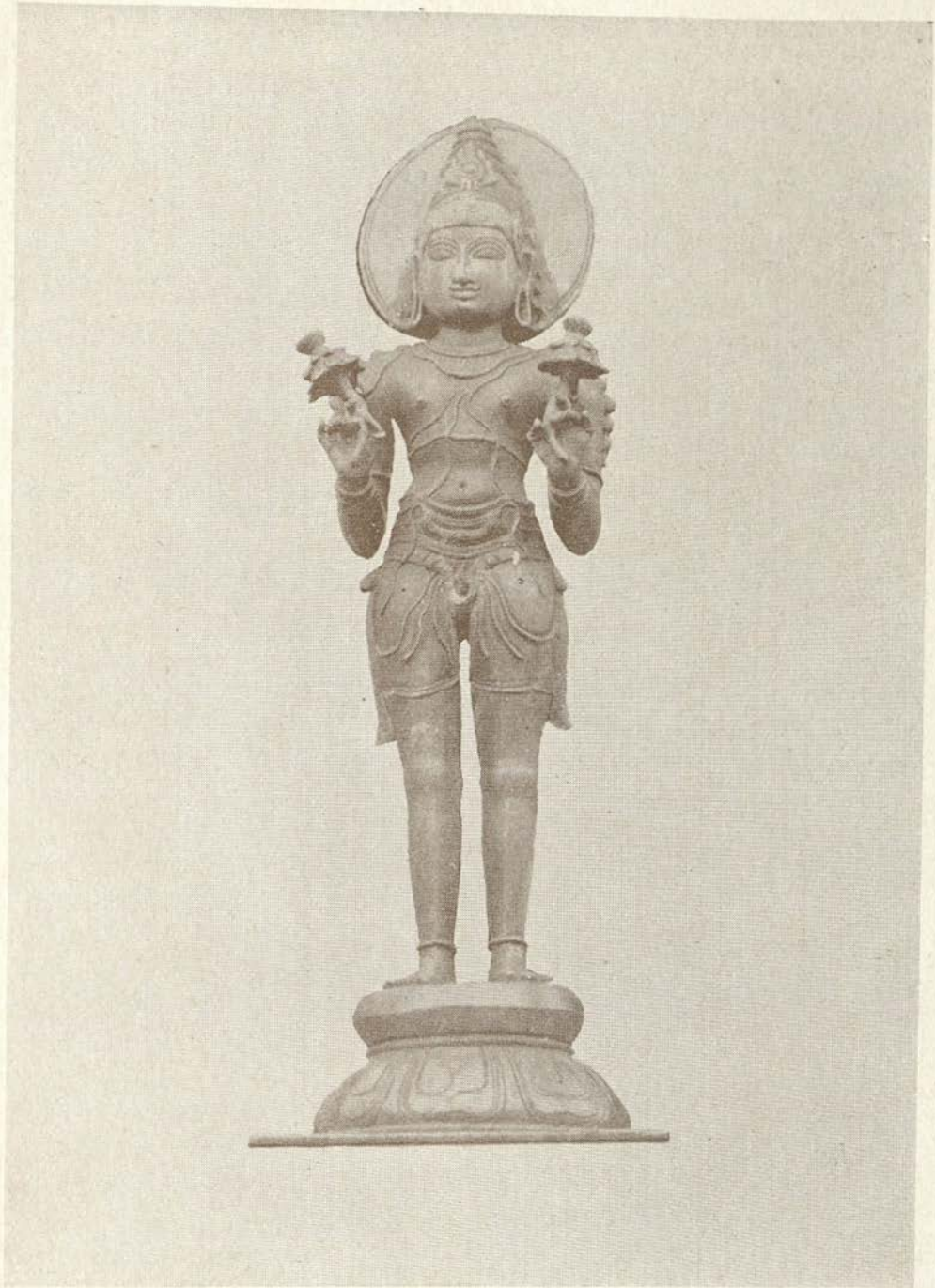

PLATE XXV.

Siva-Surya.

Colombo Museum.

From the descriptive verse quoted on the last plate this image may be identified as the Siva-Surya. The halo at the back of the head which is a feature in both the examples is based on the following verse descriptive of the image :—

" Dvi-vujā-padma hastā-ca-rakta-padmāsane-sthitāh
Rakta-mandala-sanyuktā-karanda-mukutānwitā."

(Kāsypiya.)

TRANSLATION :

" With two hands holding lotuses, standing on the red lotus, having a red nimbus and wearing a coronet of the *Karanda* type " (page 46).

PLATE XXVI.

Bhikshanatesa.

Pasupateswar temple, Nallur, Tanjore District.

This image has been identified by the officers of the Archæological Department as that of the Bhikshānatesa form of Siva (*vide* Plate XX), a view which seems to be supported by the wooden sandal. I am inclined however to identify this as the figure of the 'boy-saint' Tiru-jnān-sambandha, with his cup of milk (*vide* page 17).

Plate XXVI

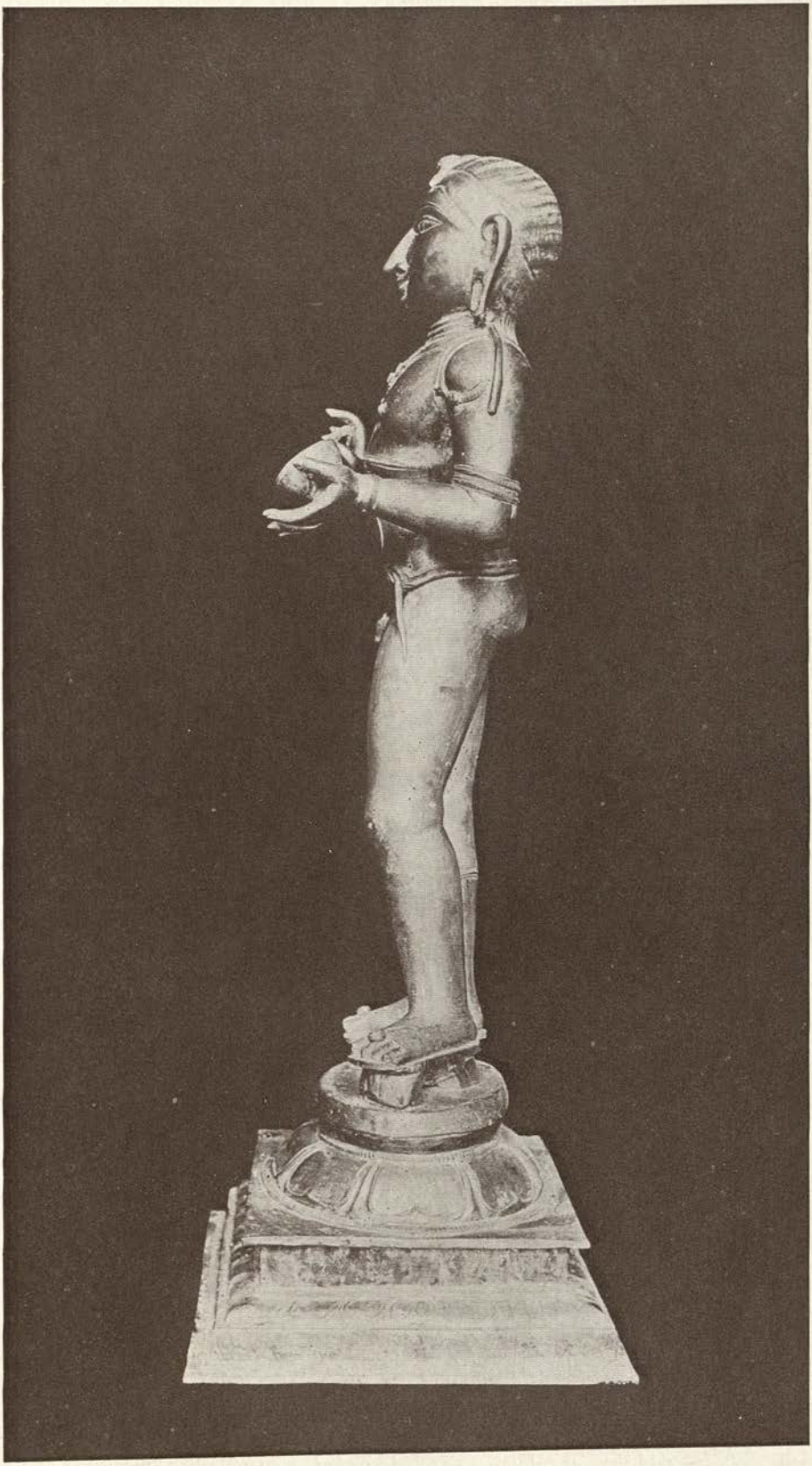

PLATE XXVII.

Sukhāsina Murti.

(Lit., 'Seated in the easy pose')

Colombo Museum Collection.

DHYĀNA:

"Sāntam-swetam-trinetram-rasa-vuja-sahitam kundolōdvasikarnam
Dandam-ghantā-kurangam-parsufanadharā-viti-bāme-katakam
Bivrānam-bām-pāde-sayana-maparato-lambivutanyo-pādam
Bāme-gouryā-sahitam-sasidhara-mukutom-tam-Sukhāsinamide."

(Kāsyapiya.)

TRANSLATION:

"White and tranquil, with three eyes and six hands bearing the rod, the bell, the axe, and the *avaya*, the *Kātaka mudrā* being delineated in the left hand, the left leg in sleeping posture, the right leg being spread out, and having Gouri on his left side, and the moon on his coronet, I adore the '*Sukhāsina*.'

This image is invested with six hands in the above verse, although generally depicted as having four, as in this plate and in the next. According to other texts the *Sukhāsinamurti* should have four hands (Bēdahasta). This conception of Siva is probably a development of the *Umāsahita murti* (*see* Plate II). The description of Uma, having a lotus in her hand, as depicted in the image illustrated in this plate will be found in the *dhyāna* quoted in the notes on the next plate.

PLATE XXVIII.

Sukhāsina Murti.

Madras Museum Collection.

This image exactly reproduces the type illustrated in the last plate except that the figure of Uma offers some peculiarity in her pose. In the last example she had the *barada* pose in her left hand, while in this example she has her left hand hanging down. This variation is also authorised by the texts as will appear from the following quotations :—

"Devasya-bāma-parsetu-pārbati-ca-sukhāsanam
Sāyayeddakhinam-pādam-bāma-pādam-pralambayed
Kincid-devāsritam-baktram-lakhanam-vanga-sanyutām,
Baradam-bāma-hastantu-utpalam-dakhinekare
Baradam-ceti-bikhyātam-puspa-dhrik-sinha-karnabat
Athabānya-prakārena-devi-vangam-badami-te
Bāmoru-bāhya-desetu-bāma-hasta-talam-nyaset
Pithāttu-dakhinam-janu-kincid-uddhrita-sanyutam."

TRANSLATION :

"At the left side of the God (Siva) Parvati, His consort, should also be seated in the easy pose with her right leg lying down and her left leg spread out, her face turned a little towards the God, the left hand displaying the *barada* attitude and the right hand the lotus—the *barada* attitude is well known, the hand holding the flower should be conceived as the *sinha karna* (vide page 44). Now I will tell you the other way of depicting the gestures of the Goddess, *viz.*, the left hand may be disposed hanging down and resting on its palm on the place beyond the left thigh" (as in the present example). "The right knee should be raised a little above the pedestal."

PLATE XXIX.

Somā-Skandeswara.

(Lit., 'God with Umā and Skanda')

Treasure-trove images from Nellore.

This is practically the *Sukhāsina-murti* of the God and the Goddess with the image of their son *Skanda* between, as will appear from the following *dhyāna* from *Kāsyapiya* :—

"Dakshālambita-bāma-nidrita-padam-krishnam-mrigam-cāvayam
Tanakam-manjula-candra-cuda-mukutam bivrānayā-bāmake
Bāmālambita-nidritānya-padayā-devyāyutā
Madhystha-skandenābia-kara-dvayena sahitam-somām-guhesam-vaje."

TRANSLATION :

"With the right leg spread out and the left leg at rest bearing the black deer, the *avaya* attitude and the axe and also the beautiful crescent on his coronet at the left, accompanied by the Goddess, her right leg at rest, left leg hanging down, and having between them the figure of Skanda holding two lotuses in his hands—I adore the Lord with Uma and Guhā (Skanda)!" The text then goes on to say that the image of the Goddess should be conceived exactly as in the Sukhāsana murti.

The earliest known example of this conception is found at the Dharmarāja ratha at Mamallapuram.

These group of images were discovered at Nellore in February 1913. The image of the female figure No. 3 is that of Siva-Kāmasundari. The figure next to this, No. 4, represents Appar Swami.

Plate XXIX

PLATE XXX.

Sundaramurti Swami (?)

Brihadeswar Temple, Tanjore.

The figure is so different in its pose and movements from the Ceylon example (*vide* Plate XXII) that I am inclined to identify it as the image of Mānikka vācaka. Its pose and attitude particularly of the left hand is however exactly similar to that of the image in plate (XXXII) which has been identified as that of Sundaramurti with his consort Parvai Nachyar. In commemoration of the incident of the royal commission to select a stud of horses (*vide* page 15), he has been traditionally represented as bearing a whip in one hand and a staff in the other which may perhaps suggest the significance of the gestures of the two hands. In the Tamil sacred literature Sundarar is known as 'the companion of God.'

PLATE XXXI.

Gouri.

Kailasha Nath Temple, Conjiveram.

This is one of the oldest specimens of this type of images and probably belong to a period when the Chola princes began to lavish their bounty on the Pallava temples at Conjiveram (*vide* page 53). For description of the image, *see* notes on plate XXXIII.

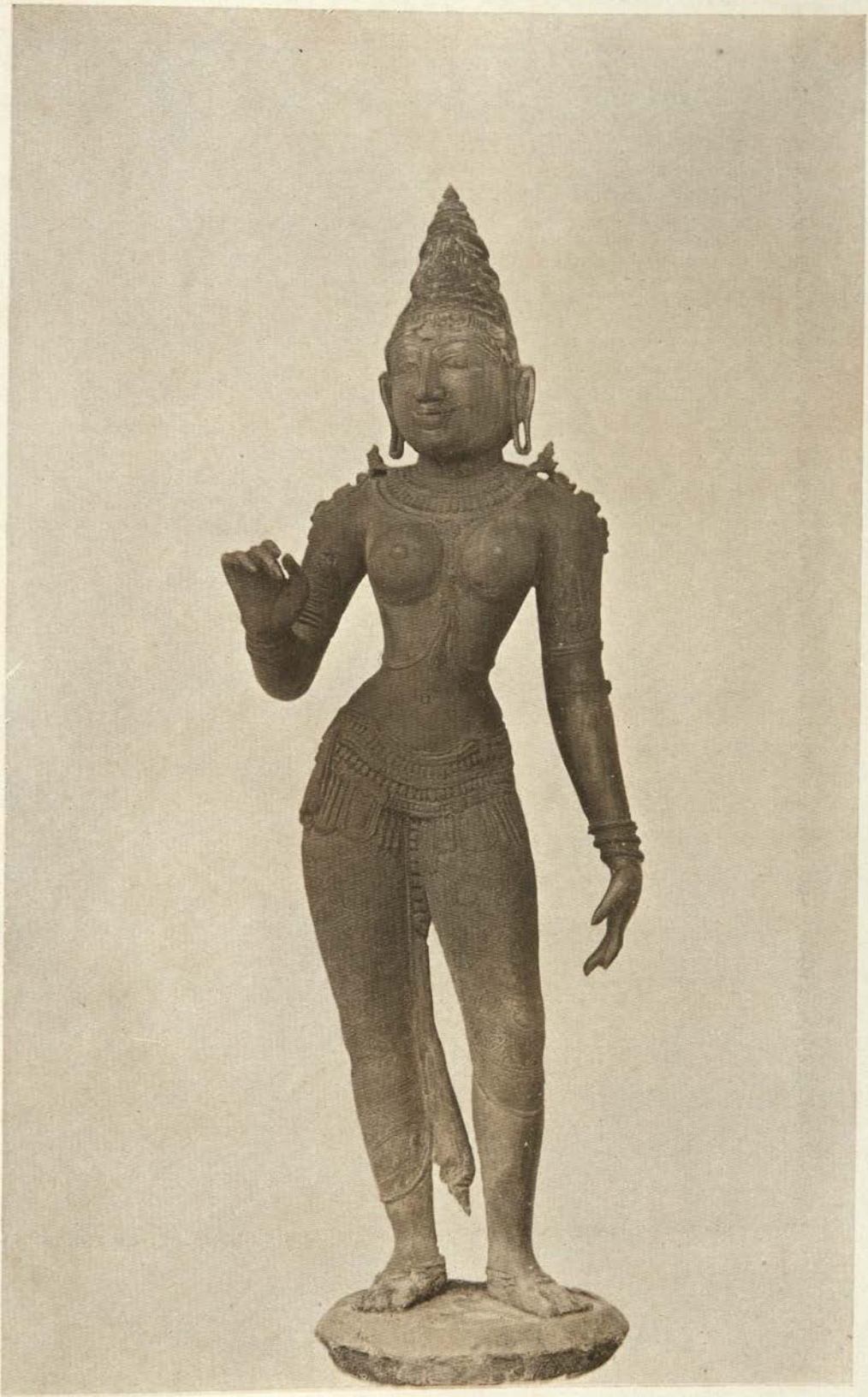

PLATE XXXII.

Sundaramurti and Paravai Nachiyar.

From Nallur, Tanjore District.

See notes descriptive of plates XXII, XXX and *Frontispiece*.

PLATE XXXIII.

Gouri.

Museè Guimet, Paris.

Height 35 *inches.* *Date Circa 9th century.*

The identification of the female figures offers some difficulty owing to the same deity being known under various specific names, their spiritual personality and function being practically the same. The *Sakti* (power) or Consort of Siva is generally known as Pārvati, Parameswari, Umā and Gouri. These conceptions are also sometimes known by the name of *Siva Kāma-Sundari* (Lit., 'The beautiful lady of Siva's desire'). Although the *dhyāna* of the various different *saktis* are enumerated in the *Kāsyapiya*, the text, at one place, lays down that the *saktis* of Siva are three in number ("*Gowri, Mononmani caiba Vabāni tribidhā bhabet*"). Many of the deities which now pose as the Consorts of Siva were no doubt borrowed from the Dravidian village goddesses, *āmmās* (mothers); as for instance the seven *kiri-āmmās* were made to correspond to the Saptamātrikās, the seven mothers of the *pauranic* mythology.

The image of Gouri or Pārvati is perhaps the principal female deity which has been figured in South Indian sculpture, although it is sometimes difficult to differentiate this form from Mononmani and Sivakāma-Sundari forms practically representing the same conception.

The image illustrated in this plate hitherto known as 'Lakshmi' must be identified as Gouri as the following verse from the *Kāsyapiya* will show :—

"Dvinetrā-dvivujā-shyāmā-karanda-mukutānwitā
Kirita-mukutābāpi-kesha-bandha-mathāpiba
Sarbābyaba-sanyuktā-pāda-jāla-samanwitā
Utpalam-dakhsya-hasteca bāma-hastam-pralambitam
Padmsya-madhyame-Gouri āsinā bā sthitā pi bā."

TRANSLATION.

"With two eyes and two hands, '*Shyāmā*,' wearing the coronet known as the *Karanda* (*vide* page 46) or the *kirita*, or having her hair tied up in a knot, with all the limbs fully developed, wearing ornaments on the feet (?) bearing the lotus in her right hand, her left-hand hanging down, standing or sitting on the centre of the lotus—(such is) Gouri."

The word 'Shyāmā' occurring in the above description of the image has some significance, as it has a technical connotation suggesting a peculiar type of female figure which has become too familiar in Indian sculpture, and is based on the following verse :—

"Stanou-sukathinou-yasya nitambe-ca-bisālatā
Madhya-khsinā-yā-nāri-sā-shyāmā-parikirtitā."

TRANSLATION.

'She who has two full (firm) busts, large hips, she who is slim at the waist—such a female is known as *Shyāmā*. The figure of Gouri in this sculpture certainly answers to the type of *Shyāmā*. Gouri when associated with the image of Sivatāndaba is known as Vira-Sakti.

Plate XXXIII

PLATE XXXIV.

Gouri or Pārvati.

National Museum, Copenhagen.

The *dhyāna* of the image quoted on the last plate in its seated form applies to this image as well.

Having regard to the peculiarity of the pose of the left hand resting on the lotus seat, it more probably corresponds to the image of Pārvati in the duet statue of the Sukhāsina murti (*vide* Plate XXVII). The hand which holds the lotus, missing in the figure, is in the *Sinha-karna Mudrā* (" pushpadhrik-sinha karna bat ") and must be distinguished from the attitude of the right hand in the figure of Gouri in the last plate where the little finger is curled up and does not stand up as in the *Sinha-karna* pose in this plate.

Of the elaborate directions given in the *Gouri lakhana patala*, the chapter dealing with the construction of the image in the *Kāsyapiya*, the most important is perhaps the injunction that the right hand holding the lotus should not outstrip the nipple of the breast (" utpalam-dhrita hastordham-stanākshasya-samam-bhabet "). This image is directed to be constructed either in the *āvanga* or in the *samavanga* flexion.

The image may be assigned to the tenth century.

PLATE XXXV.

Gouri or Pārvati.

Madras Museum Collection.

This is another though a less fine example of the same image illustrated in the last plate. The pose of the left hand offers a peculiarity which requires some explanation. The left hand in the last plate is placed with its palm on the lotus-seat beyond the left thigh whereas here it is placed on the left thigh itself. This arises from a different interpretation of the words "bāmoru-bāhya deshetu." According as the words are taken to mean 'the exterior (bāhya) part of the left thigh' or 'the place beyond the left thigh' that the two different poses are suggested. It may also have been suggested by another text which runs as follows :—"Daksē-mitotpalādhyam-bipulkatitati Bāmorunyasta-hastām." 'Having the blue lotus at the right hand, having huge hips, and a *hand resting on the left thigh*.'

PLATE XXXVI.

Deepa Lakshmi.

Madras Museum Collection.

A similar figure will be found on the cross road in Tanjore near the Railway Station. For the explanation of the image see page 25. Similar types of lamps may still be found in many temples in the South and in the Annapurna temple at Benares. These lamps are also sometimes conceived as held by male devotees, as for instance, in the temple of Chakrapāni Swami temple in Kumba-Konam there is a metal statue of one of the Tanjore Kings holding a lamp for the God Chakrapāni (Vishnu).

PLATE XXXVII.

Deepa Lakshmi.

Collection E. R. Lindsay, Calcutta.

Dr. Coomaraswamy has suggested that it is the work of some Orissan craftsman. The type of the figure would seem to support this view but in its general peculiarity it closely follows the South Indian type illustrated in the last plate. The richly decorated dress is a remarkable feature of the statuette. The bird on the shoulder also recalls similar female statues at Madura and at Trivandrum.

PLATE XXXVIII.

Bhoga-Sakti or Parameswari.

(Lit., 'Sakti of Enjoyment.')

Madras Museum Collection.

The verse given in *Kāsyapiya* on Bhoga Sakti runs as follows :—

" Sambhu-sakti-sama-vanga-muccyate
Taddinetra-prakritimca-swastikām (?)(susthiram)
Lambameka-kara-dakhinotpalam
Lajjayāpamanusār (?) baktrakam."

TRANSLATION.

'The sakti (consort) of Sambhu (Siva) is spoken of as in the 'Samavanga' attitude she having two eyes, and a tranquil feeling, one hand hanging down, the right hand holding the lotus, her face flushed with shame (modesty).'

The figure itself does not seem to have been designed in the 'Samabhanga' pose and would rather correspond to the following meditative verse :—

" Shyamām-dwinetrām-dvivujām trivangim
Sabyā pasabya-sthita kuncitānghrim
Nilotpalam-bā-katakāntakam-bā
Hastābalambā-Parameswari Sā."

TRANSLATION.

'Of the Shyāmā type (*vide* Plate XXXIII) with two eyes, two hands, in the thrice-bent flexion, the left leg resting, the right leg bent, (one hand) holding the lotus or terminating in the *kataka* attitude the (other) hand hanging down—She is Parameswari.'

PLATE XXXIX.

Valliramayi.

Madras Museum Collection.

This statuette represents the South Indian consort of Subramanya (Kārtikeya) known as *Valli* or Vallīramayī (Vallīswarī), her place being on the right side of the god, the left side being occupied by his original consort Devjāni (Tebyāni) mentioned in the northern Purānas. As a female type her representation is a variation of the attitude of Pārvati, the pose of the hands being interchanged; the other distinguishing characteristic being the *kancuka*, the covering for the breast.

Dhyāna.

" Shyāmām-pankajadhārinīm-manilasattātanka-karnojjwalām
Dakse-lamba karām-kirita-mukutām-tunga-sthanim-kancukām
Āsye-nwiksana (?) samyutām-sarabanodvutasya-sabye-sthitām
Gunjāmālyadharām-prabāla-basanām-Valliswarim bhābayet."

TRANSLATION.

'Of the *shyamā* type (*vide* plate XXXIII) holding the lotus her ears glittering with the ornament set with sparkling gems, the right hand hanging down, wearing the coronet known as *Kirita*, with high bosoms, having a covering over her breasts, with eyes (?), standing on the right side of 'one who was born in the thicket of *sara*' (reed-grasses) (*i.e.*, Subramanya, Kārtikeya, son of Siva) wearing a beautiful garland and a red garment—such is *Valliswari* to be contemplated.'

PLATE XL.

Gouri.

Madras Museum Collection. Height 9½".

This seems to be the same as the image of Gouri in the group of Sukhāsinamurti (*vide* plate XXVIII). The inscription at the base of the pedestal which does not make any attempt at identification of the figure is a characteristic piece of vandalism.

Figure of Goddess
Found burried in
Village Mayavara
31st December 1895.

PLATE XLI.

Ādhāra-Sakti.

Madras Museum Collection.

Dhyāna.

" Kundendu-barnām-baradām-tri-netrām
Kotīra-bhārāmavayā vayaghnim
Pāsānkusou-pankaja-madhya-samsthām
Ādhāra-saktim-iti-chintya-mule."

TRANSLATION.

Having a colour like the moon and the *kunda* flower, the hand bestowing gifts (*baradamudrā*) having three eyes, burdened with waist ornaments (?), as the destroyer of fear—displaying the *avaya* attitude, (holding) the noose, and the goad, seated on the centre of the lotus—so the '*Ādhāra-sakti*' should be thought of at the 'root' (mūla).' According to the Tantras she is the presiding genius of the triangular space in the mid-most portion of the human body (mulādhāra) ; 'when awakened, it is she who gives birth to the world made of mantra' (*vide Mahanirvān Tantra* by Arthur Avalon, Intro. lix).

The usual halo of light (pravā-torana) is wanting in this figure.

PLATE XLII.

Adhāra-Sakti.

Tagore Collection, Calcutta.

This is a much finer example than the one illustrated in the last plate, and though differing in certain peculiarities must be identified by the pose and implements of the hands, as representing the same conception. In the last plate the coronet is the *jatāmukuta*, here it is of the *karanda* type. There is a difference also in the attitude of the legs, the other figure being cross-legged, this one being in the *sukhāsana* pose, with the right leg hanging down. The third eye on the forehead, perhaps effaced by constant treatment with sandal ointments, is not visible in this figure. The figure of the monster on the top of the *Pravā-torana* is perhaps the *kirtimukha* familiar to North Indian images and constantly used as a significant architectural decoration in the temples of Java.

PLATE XLIII.

Ardhanārissvar.

Ardhanārisvar temple, Tiruchengodu.

This is the image of the presiding deity of the temple, the building of which is attributed to the Chola King Killi. According to tradition this image is said to have been made out of a mixture of some vegetables and mineral compounds by the sages in bygone days (Archælogical Report Southern Circle 1911-12, page 11). The style and the treatment of the sculpture however do not bespeak any high antiquity. The pose is rather peculiar and is not suggested by the contemplative verse found in the texts.

Plate XLIII

PLATE XLIV.

Pārvati with Subramanya in her Arm.

Viratesvara Temple, Valuvur, Tanjore District.

This image represents a departure from the traditional representation of the goddess as prescribed in the texts and was probably devised to illustrate some special local legend associated with the Viratesvara temple which may be roughly dated about the beginning of the 12th century.

PLATE XLV.

Mohini.

Virateswara Temple, Valuvur, Tanjore District

This is a female form of Vishnu whom Siva accepted as his consort and as the result of the union Basmasura was born out of the right side of Mohini and became known as Aaiyanar. The conception of Mohini was probably identified with *khiri-ammā* of the Dravidian *'grāmadevatās'* (village deities).

The image does not seem to be particularly old and is certainly inferior in conception to the type of the images of Pārvati, though less conventional in pose and treatment.

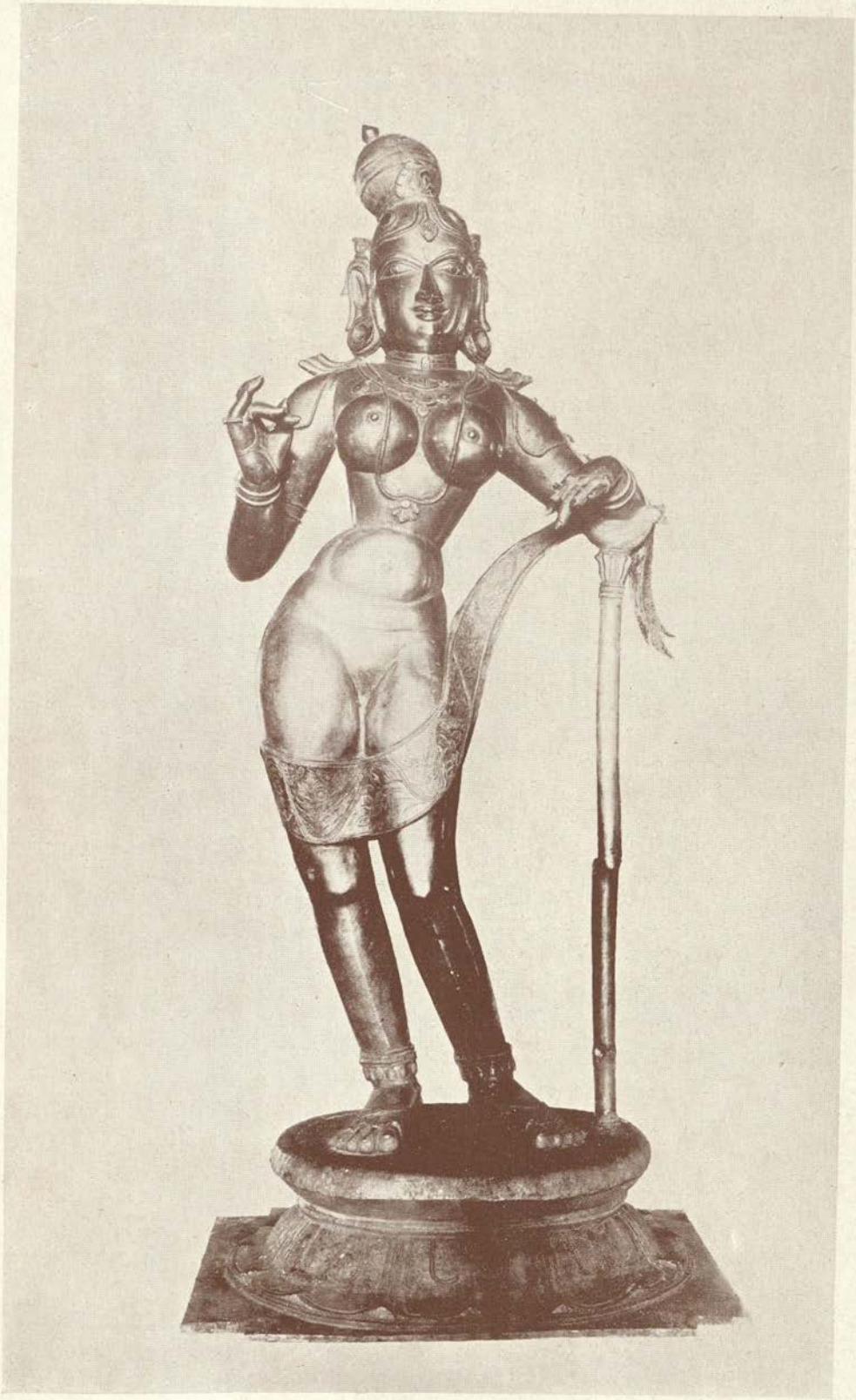

PLATE XLVI.

Pidāri.

Tirupalaturai, Tanjore District.

This is an example of an image tipifying the terrible aspect of the consort of Siva which corresponds to the goddess known as Kāli, Chāmundā, etc., in northern India. An attempt has been made to identify the conception of Kāli with the aboriginal Dravidian goddess Pidāri. And the texts under the heading of Pidāri recites the *dhyāna* of Vadra Kāli thus intimating an identification of the two conceptions. Pidāri has been known under various forms, just as the forms of Kāli have many differentiated aspects. Thus the seated form of Pidāri in the next plate recalls the image of *Renukā* with the difference that the latter goddess carries the *kadga* in place of the noose in the left hand. The image illustrated here is supported by the following corrupt verse :—

Pāsam-damarukam-caiba-sulam-kapālam
Rakta-kancuka-barnāvām (?) stanam-sarpa-subhusitam
Jwāl-kesam-ca-tatwayam (?) Siromāla-bivushitam
Shyambarnā dwi (tri ?) netranca-Vandrakāli sthitam Vabet."

(Kāsypiya).

TRANSLATION.

" (Carrying) the noose, the drum, the trident and the skull, wearing a red vest with the breasts decorated with serpents, with flaming hairs, and wearing head ornaments (festoons), of dark colour, having two eyes, Vandra Kali should be in a standing posture."

It is not quite clear from the text whether the image should have two or three eyes as found in the example here and also in plate XLVIII. The covering of the breasts suggested by the word *Kancuka* is found in the next plate, but is wanting in the example here.

Plate XLVI

PLATE XLVII.

Pidāri.

This is a seated figure of the same image illustrated in the last plate ; the significance of the passage of the text quoted there (Stanam-sarpa-subhusitam), ' the breasts well decorated with serpents' will be apparent in the example here. The square cup in the left hand is only a variation of the skull which is generally represented in the form of a shallow cup. It will be useful to compare the following verses descriptive of Kāli and Renukā, with reference to this image :—

Kāli.

" Badanameka-jatādhara-sarpam
Damaru-pās-trisula-kapālam
Bhujaga-bhusana-muttpalagātram
Asura-sanhāri-Kāli-namaste."

' Having matted locks, the serpent, the drum, the noose, the trident, and the skull, having a lotus-complexion decked with serpents, Kāli the Destroyer of demons, I bow to thee.'

The serpent curling the drum is a characteristic device of the South Indian Sculptors more commonly met with in the images of Siva.

Renukā.

" Bamē-sula-kapāla-jugma (?) nihitam-kadgam-lasaddin-dimam
Bivrānām-karapankajai-dwinayanām-nāgāstavusojjwalām
Nānā koti-yugānta-surya-sadrisam-nanōjjwalad-vusanam
Dakshālambita-bāma-nidritapadām-sri Renukām Vābayet."

" (Seated ?) on the left side, carrying in her lotus-hands the trident, the skull, the sword and the drum having two eyes, shiningly decorated with eight serpents (?) like the sun of millions of ages and decked with glittering ornaments the right leg spread out, the left leg in repose—Sri Renukā should be contemplated."

PLATE XLVIII.

Pidāri.

(Vadra Kāli).

Swamimelai, Tanjore District.

This is a modern example of the image illustrated in plate XLVII. It is the work of Guru Swami Sthapthy an old hereditary sculptor of Swamimelai and was cast in 1909. The disposition of the locks streaming upwards seems to be a characteristic feature of this conception which is not suggested in the sculptor's texts. (cp. ' Jwāla-kesam ' ?).

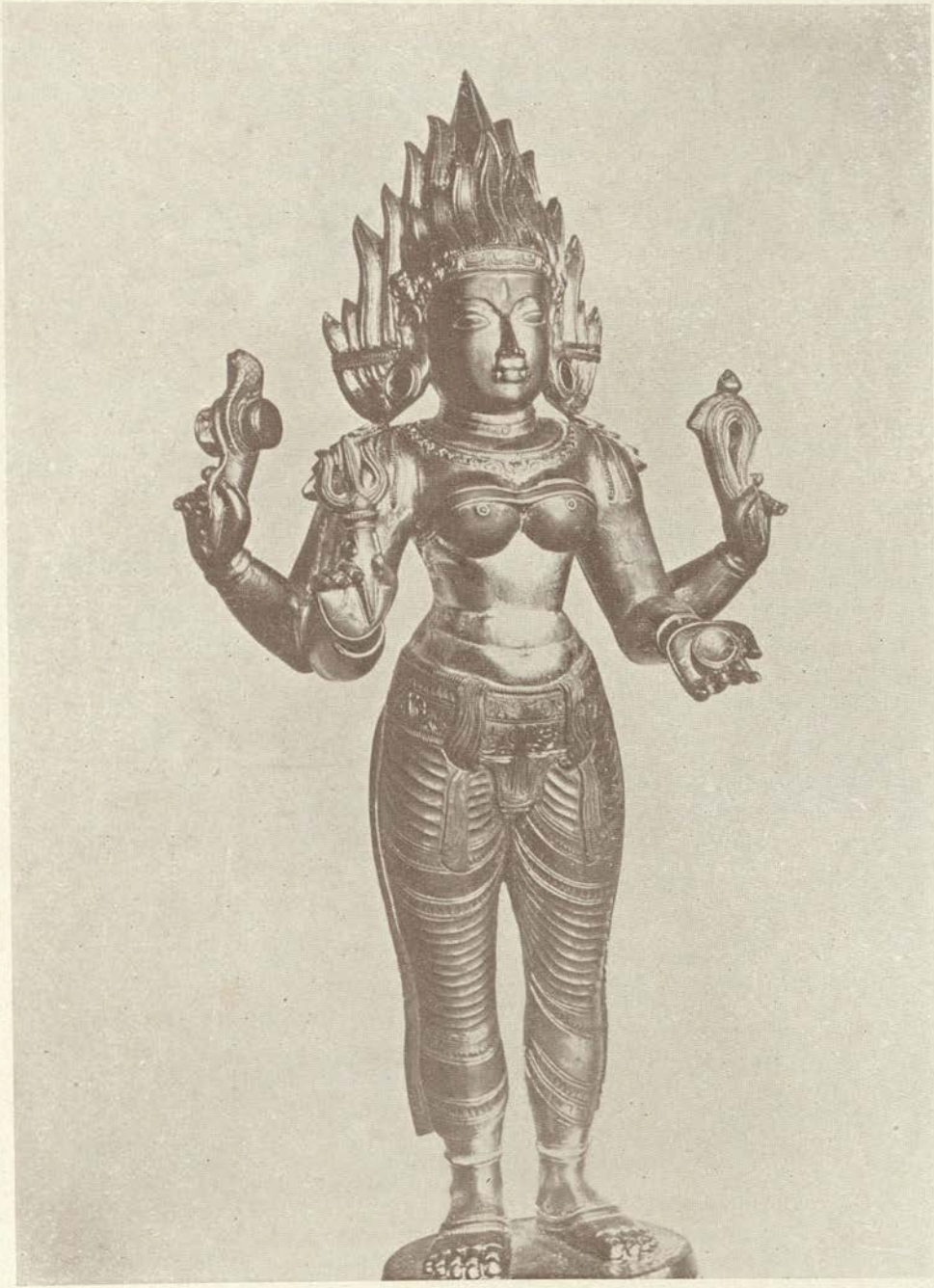

PLATE XLIX.

Dakhināmurti.

Madras Museum Collection.

This is perhaps the finest example hitherto found of this type of image. It was first published by Dr. Coomarswamy (*Visvakarma* part IV) under the name of Pārvati. It must be identified however as belonging to the type known as Pidāri or Kāli, and in its less terrible and more gracious aspect it is known as *Dakhināmurti*, (Lit., the image of Graciousness) and, as such, must be distinguished from the conception of Pārvati, which hardly, if ever, is seen with four hands. The *Āyudhas* or insignia as well as the pose of the image enable us to identify the same from the following text :—

" Sabya (?) lambita-bāma nidrita-padām-krishnam-mrigam-chāvayam
Tankam-chādadhatam-baram-cha-katakam bivrānayā bāmake."

TRANSLATION.

" With the right leg hanging down, the left leg sleeping (in repose) holding the black-deer, the *avayamudrā* and the axe, and in the left hand displaying *Kataka* or *barada* mudra." The lower left hand is here conceived in the *Kataka* pose.

PLATE L.

Aaiyanar.

Tirupalaturai, Tanjore District.

This is another example of a Dravidian divinity having been adapted in the Saivaite Pantheon. He is taken as a form of Skanda being the son of Iswara and the Surānganā 'Mohini,' the female personification of Vishnu. Hence he derives his other name of Hari-Har-Putra. He is also known by the name of Nayanar Sāsta and Mankalar (*i.e.*, son of Vishnu). In his primitive Dravidian aspect he is the presiding deity of the forest and as such specially guards the hunters and travellers in the forests. He is said to have captured an elephant which has since become his vāhana (vehicle). He is figured in this plate in his characteristic sukhāsina pose with the left hand in the *lola* attitude supported by the left knee. He is also sometimes represented as riding on a horse. His *āyudha* or insignia is the goad.

Plate L

PLATE LI.

Aaiyanar.

Valuvur, Tanjore District.

Aainyanar riding on an elephant is sometimes identified with Gajārudha-Swami, a form of Skanda. (*Vide* notes on last plate.)

PLATE LII.

Aaiyanar.

Collection M. Ardenne de Tizac, Paris.

This is perhaps the finest image of Aaiyanar hitherto discovered. From the treatment of the figure it appears to be much older than the other examples illustrated here, the one illustrated on plate (LI) is perhaps the latest in date. This figure was first published by Dr. Coomarswamy in Visvakarma, part VI, where it was wrongly described as Siva.

PLATE LIII.

Subramanya.

Brihadeswar Temple, Tanjore.

This is the god *par excellence* of South India. Considering the number of temples dedicated to the cult of this image and the very widespread worship of this deity in South India, the worship of the image in its form of Kārtikeya, in Bengal, is comparatively insignificant. In South India he is known under the following sixteen different names each having a different *dhyān mantra* : Subramanya, Jnān-saktidhar-swami, Skanda-swāmi, Devasenāpati Gajārudha-swāmi, Sarabanbhaba, Kārtikeya, Kumarswami, Shanmukha-swāmi, Tārakāri-swami, Sāstā-swami, Balli-Kalyān-Swāmi, Bāl-swāmi, Krounca-hari-swami, Sikhi-bāhanswami, and Senāni.

The image here illustrated is of the Sikhi bāhan a type and is supported by the following verse :—

" Bidruma-prava-meka-mukham-bivum
Bajra-sakti-baradāvaya-pāninam
Deba-loka ka (?) ripu-ghananam (?)
Namāmi-rudra-mukham-sikhi-bāhanam."

TRANSLATION :

" Having one face, and a complexion like a yellow jewel, having in his hands the thunderbolt, the weapon known as *Sakti*, *bara* and the *avaya* symbols, the destroyer of the enemies of the Heavens, I bow to the grave-faced Sikhibāhana, (Lit., He whose vehicle is the peacock.)

PLATE LIV.

Valliswari, Subramanya and Debajani.

Thyagaraja Temple, Tiruvottiyur, Chingleput Division.

This is a comparatively modern and an inferior conception as compared with the last image. The verses descriptive of Balliswari and Sikhibāhana have already been quoted (Plates XXXIX and LIII). The *dhyāna* of Debajāni runs as follows :—

" Shyāmām-swarnapravām-pinōttungakuchām suyoubanyutām-
kāmyapradām-sripradām
Raktamutpaladhārinim-Sasi-nivam-mandāra-mālā dharām
Debaiyrarcita-padukām-Sasi-mukhām-Senāni-bāme-sthitām
Nānādibya-bivusanām-Debim-trivangim bhajet."

TRANSLATION :

" Of the *shyāmā* type, emitting a golden effulgence, with high and full bosoms, in the prime of youth, the giver of desires, and the bestower of luck, rivalling the moon and carrying the red lotus and wearing the garland of *mandar* flower, her feet having been worshipped by the gods, standing on the left side of *Senani* (Subramanya), I adore the Goddess having the pose of the three flexions and decked with beautiful ornaments."

A peculiar feature of the central image is the miniature figure, carved at the foot of the pedestal, apparently, of the donor of the image, in the usual supplicating attitude.

PLATE LV.

Sarabhamurti, Kampaharesvara Temple.

Tribhubanam, Tanjore District.

This is a very unusual figure probably presenting some destructive aspect of Siva and in its peculiar zoomorphic conception reminds one of the Nrisinha-avatār of Vishnu. The form certainly resembles a lion but the four hands and the deer on the upper left hand bespeak a Saivaite idea.

According to the date of the temple which bears the inscription of Kulottunga I, (circa 1070 A.D.) the image ought to be very old, but it is impossible to say if the same was installed at the time when the temple was built.

Kampaharesvara literally means "the god who destroys fears." The legend regarding the installation of this shrine is as follows:— "A Chola King having committed the sin of murdering a Bramhin went on pilgrimage to many sacred places, but all to no purpose as he could not shake off the ghost of his victim—until he entered this temple when to his surprise he found that the spirit of the murdered man did not follow him into the temple but waited at the gate for his return. The king to avoid him worked a hole in the western wall of the temple and fled towards his capital, Tanjore. He afterwards built a temple and founded a village named Terupavanam in honour of the deity and in gratitude for his salvation." (South Indian Railway guide, page 170.) The conception of this image has some affinity to the Egyptian *Sakhit* and the cat-gods, just as the Indian Garuda has its counterpart in the hawk-god Horus in the Temple of Edfu.

According to a *sthalapurana* in the possession of Pandit Krishnamachariar of Natcharkoil, 'when Krishna took the form of man-lion (Nara-sinha) and killed Hiranya kasipu, his appearance was horrible and all the Devas prayed to Siva to assuage the wrath of Vishnu who was rather proud of his appearance and glory. Siva took the form of Sarabha—an animal superior to a lion in fierceness and power. On seeing this form Vishnu sank into insignificance.'

PLATE LVI.

Equestrian figures.

Huzur Katchery, Trichinopoly.

These were discovered in some villages in the district of Trichinopoly. From the attitude of the riders it is not possible to identify them with Siva who is sometimes represented as riding on a horse as at Avdayarkoil or with Aaiyanar who has a distinctive pose illustrated in plates (L to LII). These riders probably represent some royal personages, possibly Chola princes who once had their capital at Urayur now a suburb of Trichinopoly. Excepting the memorial portraits of the pious kings illustrated in plates (LXXIV, LXXV, LXXVII), these riding figures are the only secular copper statues hitherto found in South India.

PLATE LVII.

Images of Alwars.

Todikombu, Madura District.

Poykai Alwar, Budattalvar, Peyalvar
Peria Alvar, kulasekhar Alvar,
Tondaradhipati, Tirumangaimanam,

Tiruppan-Alvar, Kurattalvar, Madurakavi,
Nammalvar, Udaiyavar and Garudalwar.

PLATE LVIII.

Ganesa.

From a temple in Srirangam, Trichinopoly.

Like Subramanya, Ganesa has also sixteen different conceptions, which are known as Bālā-Ganapati, Taruna Ganapati, Vakta-Ganapati, Bira-Ganapati, Sakti-Ganapati, Dwaja-Ganapati, Pingala-Ganapati, Uccista-Ganapati, Bighnarāj-Ganapati, Khipra-Ganapati, Heramba-Ganapati, Lakhsmi-Ganapati, Mahabighna-Ganapati. Bhubanesa-Ganapati, Nritta-Ganapati and Urdha-Ganapati.

The image on this plate seems to represent Binayaka or Bighna-rāj-Ganapati :—

" Pāsānkusa-swadantāmraphalā-bānakhu-bāhana
Bighnam-haratu-debesa-rakta-barno-Binayaka."

TRANSLATION :

" He who has the noose, the goad, his own tooth and mangoe fruit, and the mouse as his Vāhana (vehicle), let that, king of Gods, the red coloured Binayaka remove all difficulties."

The image is now in the Madras Museum Collection.

Plate LVIII

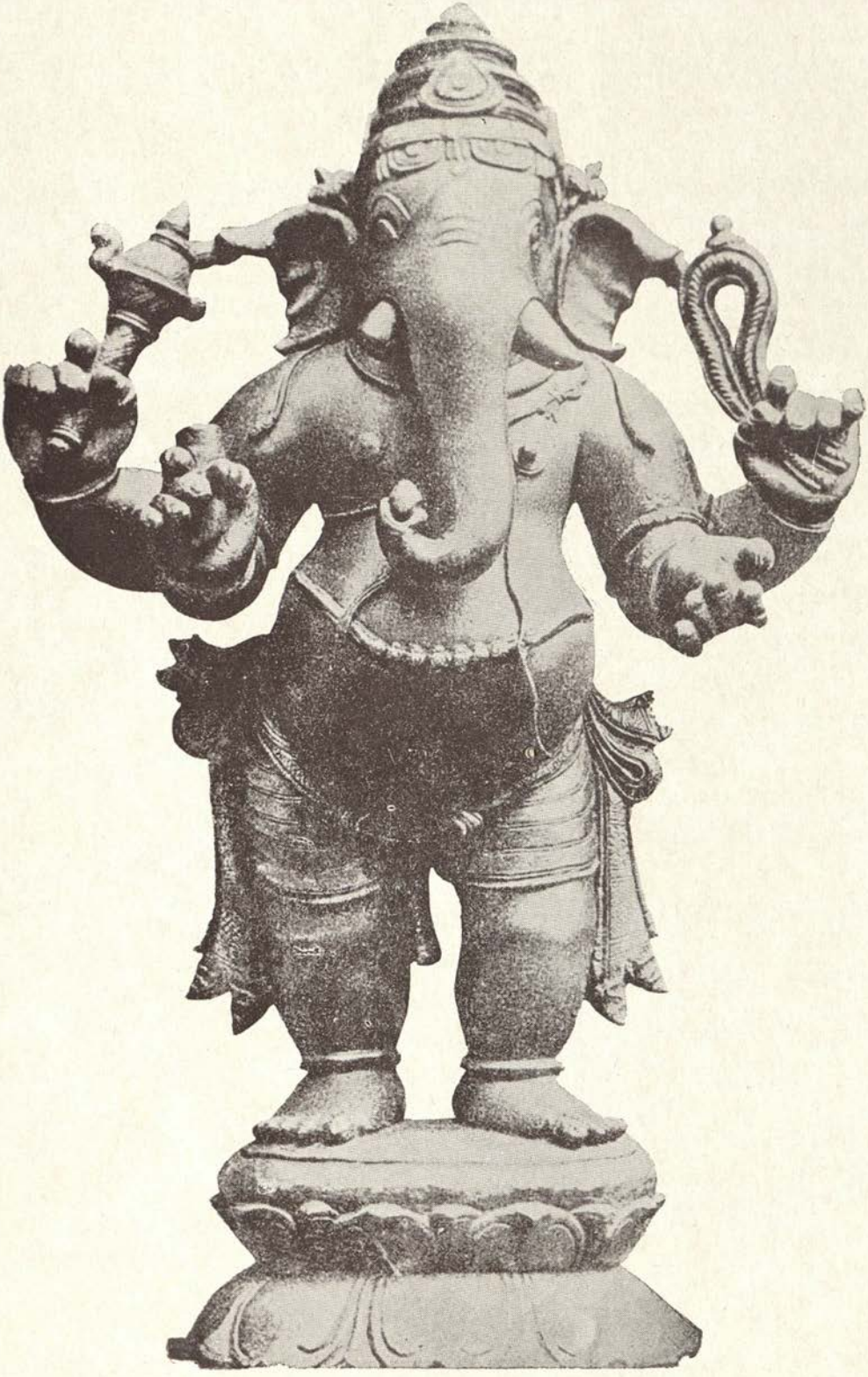

PLATE LIX.

Lakshmi-Ganapati.

Swamimelai, Tanjore District.

This is a modern figure having been cast in 1909 by Somo Sundara Sthapathy, and the photograph was taken when the image was as yet unfinished, the figure of the goddess being quite untouched by the artist after the casting process.

Plate LIX

PLATE LX.

Krishna Tandaba.

Madras Museum, Collection.

This trio represents the dance of Krishna accompanied by His two consorts Rukmini and Satyavāmā. This dance is sometimes known as the *nabanita nritya* the dance of Krishna with the 'fresh butter' in his hands. The following text fairly conveys a description of the image :—

TANDABA KRISHNA DHYĀNA.

" Sakuncita-dakshina-pāda-murdham
Sukha sthitam nritya padanca-bāmam
Galina-hastam-prasaren (?)-bāmam
Kirita-hārāngada-nupurānwitam
Sa-Rukhmini Satyavāmā-sametam
Dhāyet Satam (?) Deba-mananta mādyam."

TRANSLATION :

" With the right leg bent and upraised, the left dancing leg resting in an easy pose, having a *galina*(? ball) in his hand, the left hand being spread out, decorated with necklace, armlets and jingling bells and the *kirita mukuta*, accompanied by (his consorts) Satyavama and Rukmini,—thus should the Lord Ananta (Krishna), the Primordial Being be contemplated."

The coronet of the figure of Krishna in this group is a serpent-hood instead of the *kirita* suggested by the text, which appears in plate LXIII. The pose is in the *Ativanga* flexion.

Plate LX

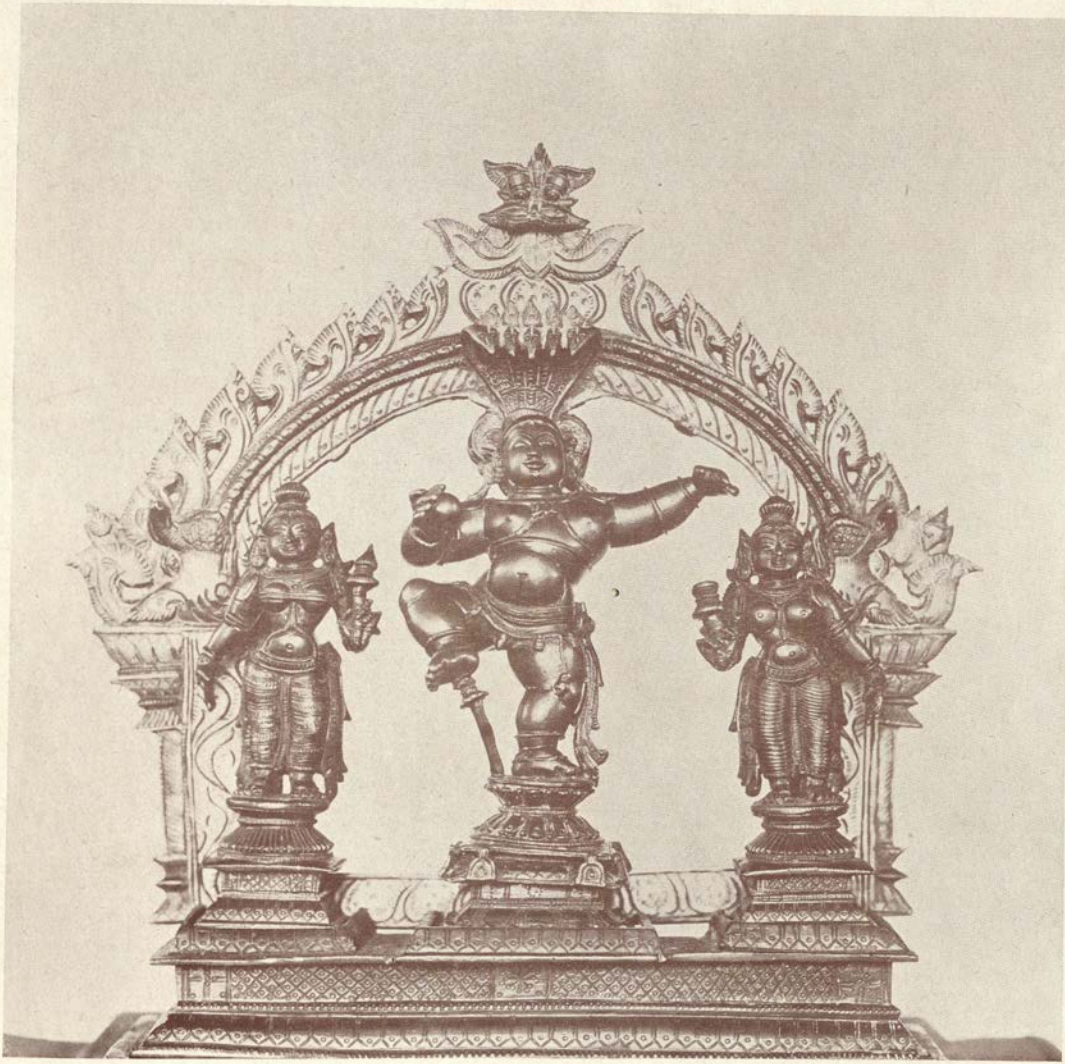

PLATE LXI.

Krishna Tandaba.

Detail from last plate.

Plate LXI

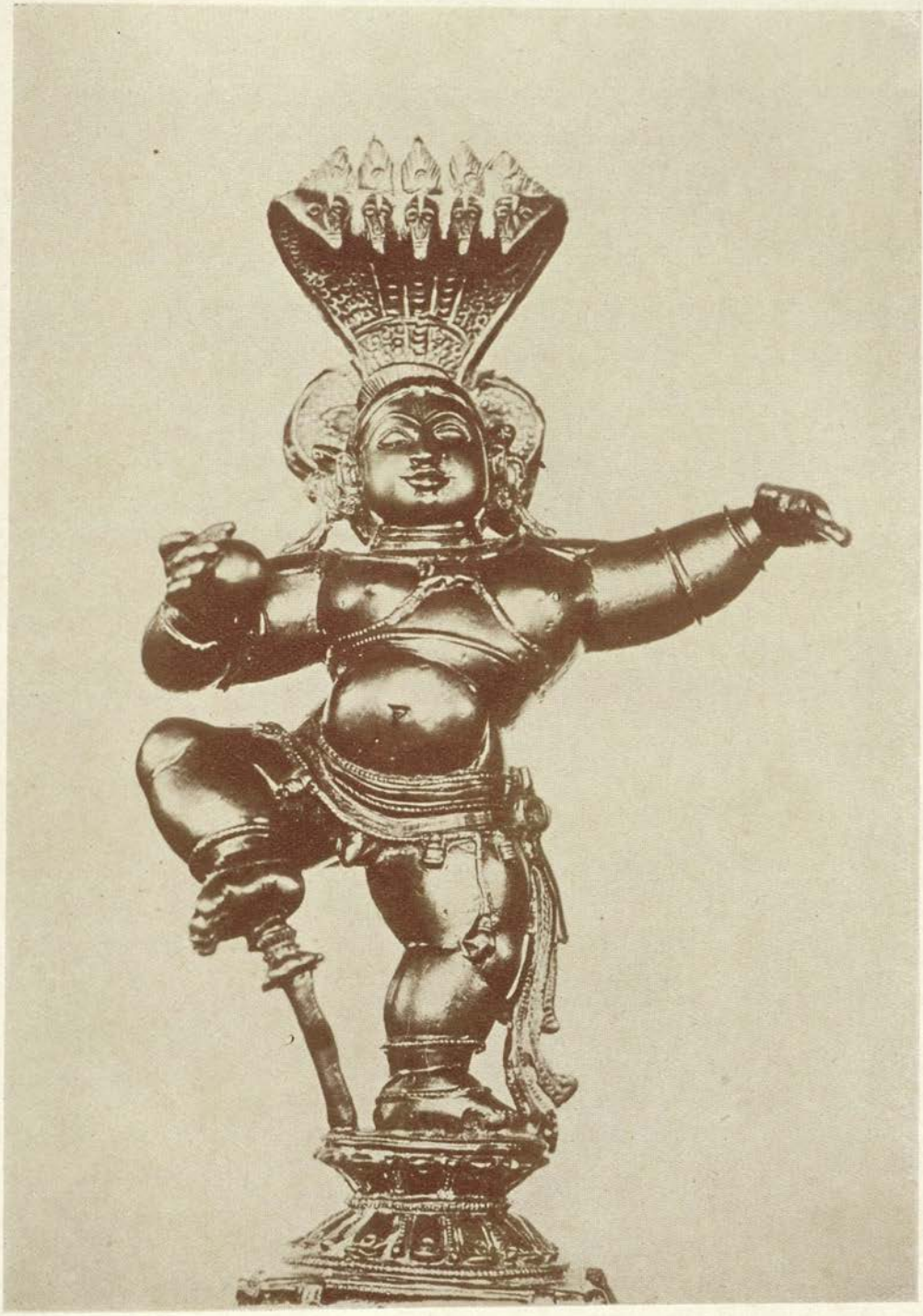

PLATE LXII.

Krishna Tandava.

From a Temple in Srirangam, Trichinopoly.

The verse descriptive of the image has already been quoted (plate LX). It will be interesting to compare the verse on the *Nabanita Nritta.*

Muhur-muhu-kuncita pādayugmam dor-danditam bam-karam-tu basam (?)
Bibartitam-yat-karanam-bidhijnai-niyojayet tat-nabanita-nrittam."

[Brāmhiya Chitrakarma sāstra.
Chapter 9.]

The rules for the construction of Krishna and other Vaishnava images are found not in the *Kāsyapiya,* but in the Brāmhiya Chitra-sāstra in its chapter dealing with *Krishna lakhana.*

PLATE LXIII.

Vishnu (Perumal).

Madras Museum, Collection.

The image of Vishnu is distinguished by its characteristic *ayudha* the *shankha* (conch) and the *chakra* (discus), which are held up by the upper hands in the *patākā-mudra*. The lower right hand is in the *barada* attitude and the other left hand in *katihasta* gesture. The latter hand is sometimes disposed in the *avaya-mudra*.

The example here is one of the oldest examples of Vaishnavite sculpture and may be attributed to the ninth or the tenth century. The details of the measurements have already been illustrated in figure 3.

PLATE LXIV.

Krishna Tandava.

Madras Museum Collection.

PLATE LXV.

Kaliya Mardana.

Musee Guimet, Paris.

This image offers certain peculiarities as compared with the other examples (Plates LXIV, LXVI). It is different in pose and in the manner of the modelling of the figure and also in the type which is less conventional. The finish is rather crude, but the general effect is very happy and artistic. Considering all these peculiarities one would be disinclined to class this image with the South Indian bronzes.

PLATE LXVI.

Kāliya-mardana.

This is one of the treasure trove images discovered at Kattu Edayar, South Arcot District.

D.580.

PLATE LXVII.

Kāliya-mardana.

"Krishna trampling the Serpent Kaliya."

South Kensington Museum.

The heroic deed of Krishna in vanquishing the Dragon Kāliya has attracted Indian artists of all times, as a very favourite Vaishnava subject in painting and sculpture alike. In South India the subject has inspired very fine pieces of bronze sculptures. Of the innumerable bronze figures of this image found in South India the example here illustrated is perhaps one of the best and may have been suggested by the following verse :—

"Pādāghāta-nisha-(?) kāliya-phanā-kantha-sthale tāndabam
Lilā kuncita-bāma-dibya charamam-santrasta-nāgālayam
Kurban-dakshina-pāninā vayakaram-Chakram-bahantam-Vuje
Srimat-kāliyamardano-marakata-shyāmo Hari-pātu-na."

TRANSLATION.

"Having vanquished (Kāliya) by the kick of the legs, and dancing the *tandaba* dance on the neck of the hood of Kāliya, the beautiful left leg gracefully bent (at the knee) and displaying the *avaya* gesture by his right hand, and carrying the discus in his hand, may the beautiful emerald-coloured, Hari, *Kaliya-Mardana* protect us."

The figure here offers certain dissimilarity to the picture suggested in the verse. The left hand is to hold the discus according to the verse; in the example here it carries the tail end of the serpent.

PLATE LXVIII.

Krishna (Vyānkatachalapati).

Collection E. R. Lindsay, Esq., Calcutta.

There is some difficulty in identifying this image which is certainly a representation of Krishna connected with some local legend. The statuette is representative of a class of Vaishnava images. It may be tentatively identified as the image of Vyānkatachalapati and would seem to correspond to the following verse :—

" Sudarsanam-dakhsina-hasta-pallabe
Bāme-ca-Sankham-paridhārayantam
Katim-(?) tathā-bāma-karena-nunam
Baikuntham-prati-(pari) ?-darsayanti."

TRANSLATION :

'Having the Sudarsanam (disc) in his right lotus hand, carrying the sign of the Sankha (conch) in his left hand, and pointing by his left hand, no doubt, towards Baikuntha—the heaven of Krishna.'

The disc is missing in the figure, but the attitude of the hand suggests that it is holding some weapon, evidently the *cakra*. The *sankha* the other distinctive attribute of Vishnu is,sometimes placed as an *ayudha* (weapon) in the hand itself and sometimes as in the image here, figured on the palm of the left hand. The left hand is probably the *tarjjani-hasta*.

Plate LXVIII

PLATE LXIX.

Hanumana.

South Kensington Museum.

This image of Hanumana is said to have come from Ceylon, and undoubtedly represents one of the best pieces of bronze sculpture. It has been attributed to the 15th century A.D.

It belongs to the group of images associated with Rama, many examples of which have been discovered during the last few years and must be assigned to this Vaishnavite school, the cult of Rama one o the avatars of Vishnu, being only a later development of the worship of Krishna.

The outstretched hands carried two *lingas* and not the mountain as suggested by Mr. Havell (*Eleven plates*, India Society). This will be apparent by a comparison of the figure of Hanumana illustrated in Plate LXXI. According to the following text however the two hands should join in the attitude of worship :—

DHYĀNA :

" Chandrāvam-charanārbinda-yugalam (?) koupina-mounjidharam
Bāla-sonita-sona-dipta-badanam-yagnopabitam-vujam (?)
Hastāvyāmabalambitānjaliputam-hārābalim-kundalam
Paschāllambi-Sikhā-prasanna-badanam-Sri-Rām-Dutam-Vaje."

TRANSLATION.

' Having a complexion like the moon, having a girter round his waist made of grass, having a face shiningly red as blood, carrying the holy thread on his shoulder (?) displaying joint palms with his two hands, having necklaces and ear-ornaments the tail hanging at the back, having a gracious face I adore the Messenger of Lord Rama.'

PLATE LXX.

Arjuna (?).

Madras Museum Collection.

This image which seems to be a very old specimen may be attributed to the early eighth century.

It has been identified by the officers of the Archæological Department as representing Arjuna for which identification no reasons are assigned. Having regard to its *Dhanur-dhārihasta* (page 44) and the general attitude of the figure it corresponds to the type of Rama as will appear on reference to the next plate.

Plate LXX

PLATE LXXI.

Group of Rama and His Attendants, Ramnad.

This group was discovered at Rameśvaram in the District of Ramnad and may be attributed to the seventeenth century. The text enumerates various conceptions of Rama, the most important of which is *Pattāvi Rama* and *Kodanda Rama*, the latter type being illustrated in this plate. According to the canons Sita, Rama's consort, should have a place on his right, and Lakhana (Soumitri) should occupy the place on the left side of Rama.

The figure of Hanuman carrying the two lingams in his hands is on the left side of Lakhana. On the extreme right is Jāmbuban. The attitude of Sita in this group transgresses the canons of the text according to which the lotus should be placed in the left hand (sphuta-kamala-lasad-bāma hastā) as in the image in the next plate.

The following verse, rather mutilated, describes *Kodanda Rāma* :—

" Deva-sri-vatsa-vaksham marakata rucira dakhsinatta (?) bāna
Dossānyena-capo-manimaya-mukutōthfulla-sad-vushanādhya
Tishtan-vumow-trivangya-hridi-ni (?) vajato-māgh-maseriketu
Sitesh-Cakra-sabah-kusumak bahata (?) Pātu-Rama-Sa Birah (?)."

PLATE LXXII.

Rama and His attendants.

Swamimelai, Tanjore District.

This group of Rama is a very modern example of this class of statuettes having been executed in 1908 by a hereditary craftsman from Tanjore. The figure of Hanumana is here conceived in a new pose, full of force and vitality.

The figure of Krishna vanquishing Kāliya is also executed in an original pose to be distinguished from the types illustrated in plates LXVI and LXVII, which carry out the pattern image of the canons. The statuette at the extreme left corner of the photograph is the image of youthful Skanda generally placed between Siva and Pārvati in the conception of '*Somā Skanda rupa.*'

PLATE LXXIII.

Memorial Statues of Siruthonda Nayanar his wife and son and of Chola King Kadavarkone and his wife. They are in the Uttarpadesvarar temple, in the village of Tiruchengattangudi, in the Tanjore District. This was the native village of the famous Siruthonda Nayanar who was a Saivaite saint, and a contemporary of Tirugnansambandha. He lived during the reign of the Pallava King Narsinha Varman. One of his exploits is said to have been the part he took with his royal master in the military campaign against the Chalukya Capital Badami in 642 A.D. when he is said " to have reduced to dust the City of Batapi." He is also said to have cut up and cooked his only son to satisfy the appetite of the God Siva who visited him disguised as a devotee. The statues may be dated about the ninth century.

Kadovarkone may probably represent the Pallava King afterwards canonized as Aryadigal Kadvarkone.

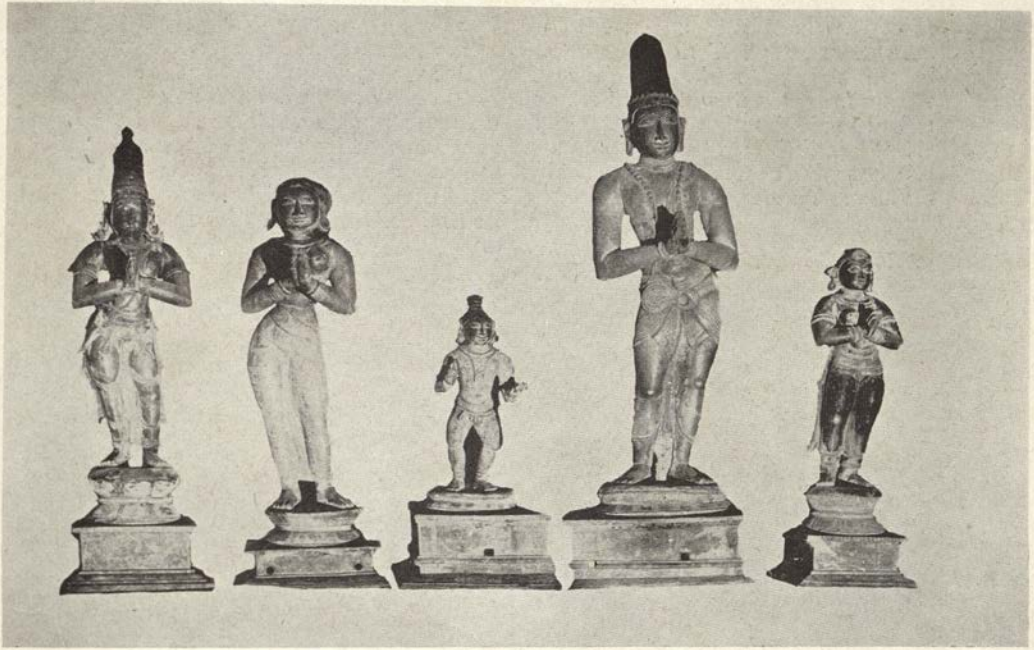

PLATE LXXIV.-

Statues of Krishnarāya of Vijayanagara (A.D. 1510-29) and his queens in the Srinivas temple, Tirumalai (Holy Hill) near Tirupati, North Arcot District. Of his two favourite wives, one was a princess from Orissa ; and the other, named Chinna Devi, was a courtesan whom in his youth Krishna Rāya had for his mistress, and made her his queen to fulfil a promise given before he was king. The City of Nagalapura (Hospet) was built in her honour. The peculiarity of his head dress is alluded to in the chronicle of the Portuguese traveller Domingo Paes who states Krishnarāya " had on his head a cap of brocade in fashion like a Galician helmet covered with a piece of fine stuff all of fine silk."

PLATE LXXV.

Statue of Venkatapati Rāya.

This copper portrait is placed at the entrance into the temple on the Tirumalai hill near Tirupati. He was one of the Vijaynagar Kings of the so-called *Karnāta* dynasty, and patronized Vaishnavism. He is supposed to have ruled from 1586 to 1614. The famous Kanyādānam Tatacharya who is supposed to have converted a large number of people to the Vaishava faith flourished during his reign. He died without an offspring, and his supplicatory figure in the corridor of the great temple at Tirumalai was probably erected from a desire for a male offspring for which the shrine was specially resorted to by pilgrims.

PLATE LXXVI.

Kolaga Maharishi in Siva temple in Kodiakarai, Tanjore District.

PLATE LXXVII.

Pita Bibi, Tirumalai.

PLATE LXXVIII.

Chandeswara.

Colombo Museum.

There is some difficulty in identifying this figure. According to the Hon'ble P. Arunachalam it represents an apothesized devotee of Siva. According to the inscription at the base of the Statuette " it seems to be that of a lord or chief or King and not a deity."

It may possibly represent the saint Vyāghrāpada, a boy-devotee of Siva, whose special duty was to offer the most beautiful flowers to Siva. Siva gave him six eyes and the feet of a tiger " to enable him to find more and more perfect flowers to offer."

PLATE LXXIX.

Incense-bearer, Tirumalai.

This casket may be attributed to time of the Vijayanagara Kings and undoubtedly bears in the shape of the bowl a Mogul influence. The figures of the angels, however, are thoroughly South Indian in conception and treatment.

PLATE LXXX.

Gouri.

Colombo Museum Collection.

See Page 67.

Plate LXXX

PLATE LXXXI.

Figures of Planets.

From Suryanār Kovil, Tanjore.

Rāhū, Sukra, Ketu, Chandra, Angāraka, Budha, Sani and Guru.

Plate LXXXI

PLATE LXXXII.

Sula-Pidari.

(Lit., Image of Pidari pictured on the Sula, the trident of Siva.)

PLATE LXXXIII.

Bronze horse from the Tiruna dungulanathar temple, Tirunadungulam, Trichinopoly.

PLATE LXXXIV.

Siva's Bull.

Musée Guimet, Paris.

PLATE LXXXV.

Siva's Bull.

Colombo Museum.

Plate LXXXV

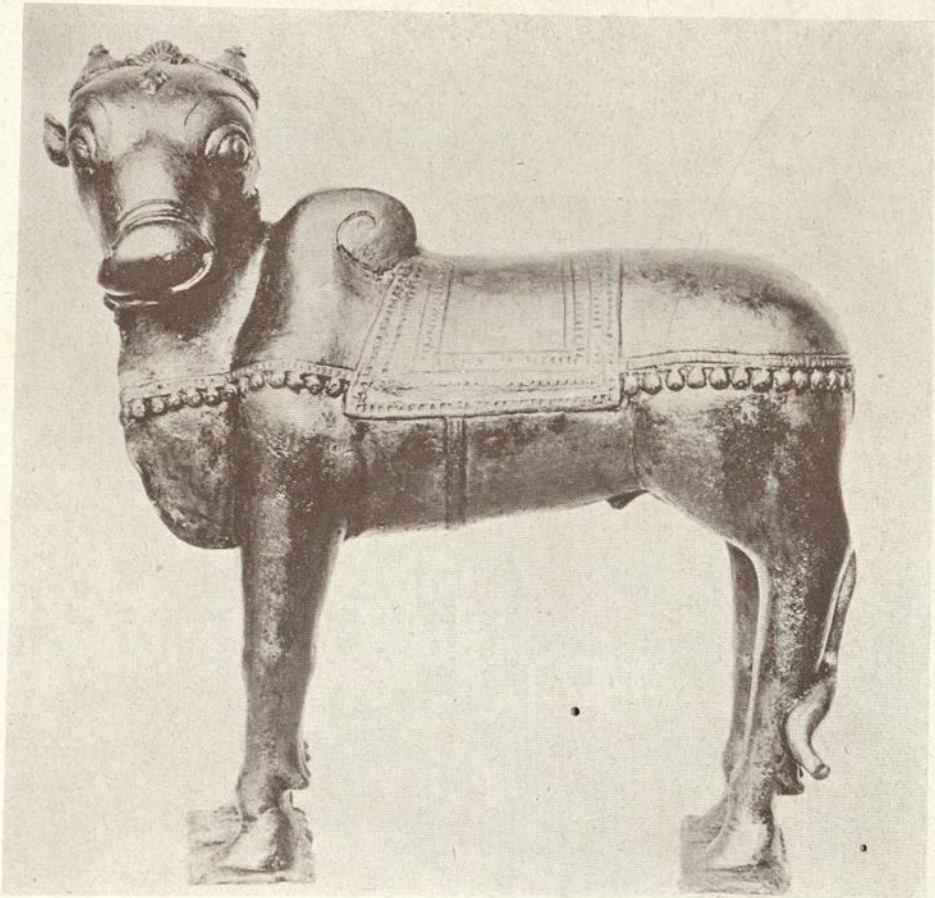

PLATE LXXXVI.

Treasure trove bronze bull from Panchanathikulam, Tanjore.

PLATE LXXXVII.

Bronze Box.

Chittur, North Arcot District.

These boxes were probably used for storing the jewels of the images in the South Indian temples some of which still own an enormously rich collection of jewellery.

PLATE LXXXVIII.

Lamps from Melakondattil, Malabar.

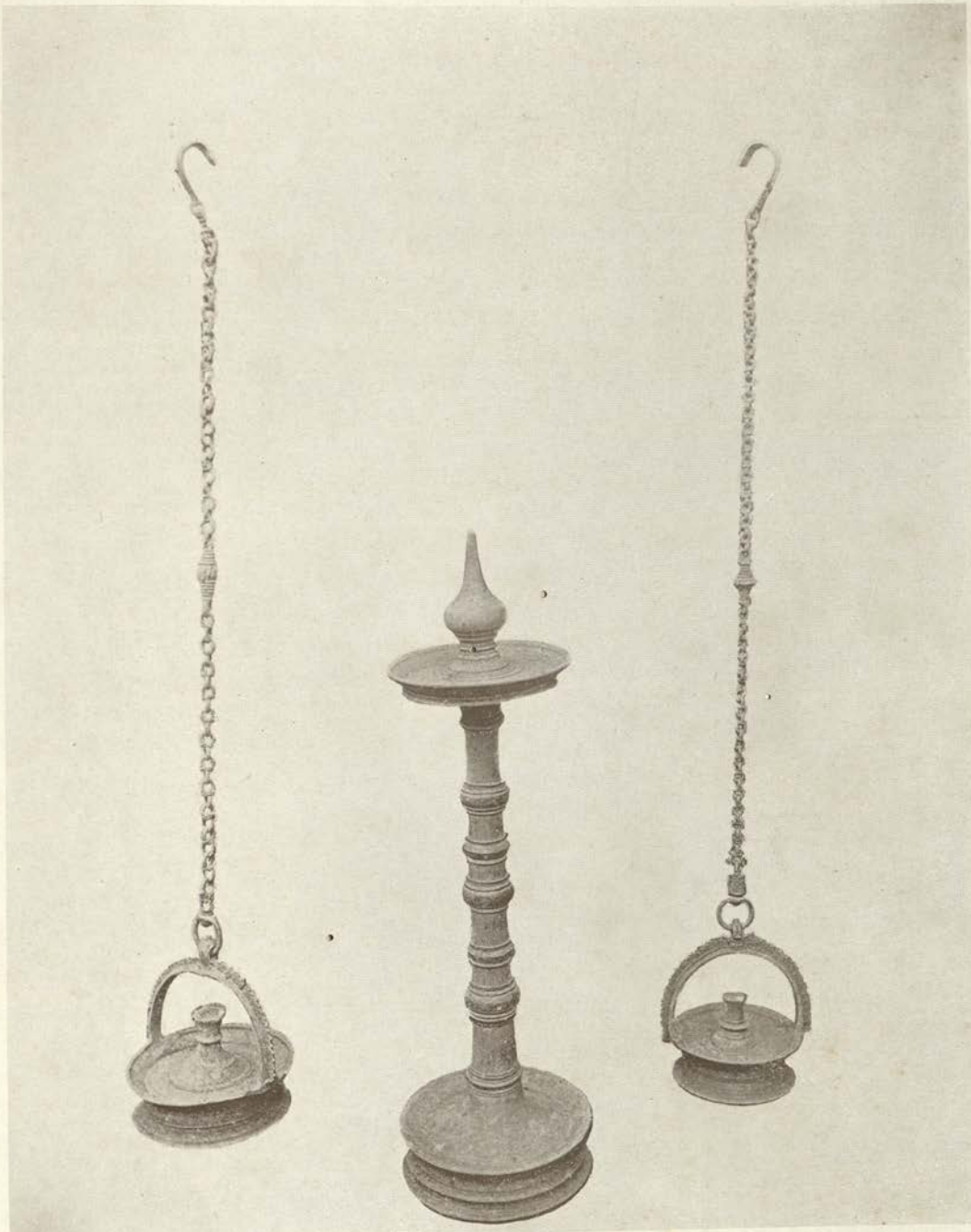

PLATE LXXXIX.

Rama.

Huzur Treasury, Trichinopoly.

Plate LXXXIX

PLATE XC.

A Jaina image.

Madras Museum Collection.

Plate XC

PLATE XCI.

Appa swami.

Colombo Museum Collection.

Plate XCI

PLATE XCII.

Sarabhoji.

Chakrapani temple, Kumbakonam.

There is a marble statue of this Maharatta prince (1787-1799) in the Darbar Hall at Tanjore with which this image should be compared (vide *The Modern Review*, January 1915, p. 18).

Plate XCII

PLATE XCIII.

Tiru-gnana-sambandha.

Colombo Museum Collection.

PLATE XCIV.

Brishava-bāhana.

[Lit., ' He whose vehicle is the bull '].

This is one of the sixteen forms of Siva. The characteristic pattern of the image is outlined in the following verse, very corrupt and mutilated, from the *Agastiya* :—

" Uru-sangata-hastasya-medhrāgram-mula-madhyamāngulam
Para-hasta-dwayam-tatcha-Krishnam-parasu-dhārinam—
Jatā-mukuta-sanyuktam-lamba-mānam-nutam-nu-bā (?)—
Dvi-hastou-bā-prayunjecyāt sarbāvarana-vusitam
Yathā-sova-tathā-tungam-parahasta-dwayorapi
Bāma-vāge-Uma-devi-samavangam-samanwitam
Sa-puspa-katakam-bāpi-dakshine-tu-pralambitam."

Sakalādhikāra,

Brishava-bāhana-lakhsana.

TRANSLATION.

' (Having) a hand reaching the thigh by its middle finger about the centre, the other two hands carrying the deer and the *parasu* (weapon), having ' the coronet of matted locks.' Sometimes the image is conceived with two hands and decked with all ornaments. The other two hands should have a height so as to give a nice proportion. At the left side of the image is the Goddess Umā conceived in the *samavanga* pose, with (one of her hands) carrying the flower or the *Kataka mudrā* (p. 44) the other hand hanging down.'

The crossed leg is also suggested by a passage in the text (bāma-pādantu-tiryak-janghānupurbabat).

Plate XCIV

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